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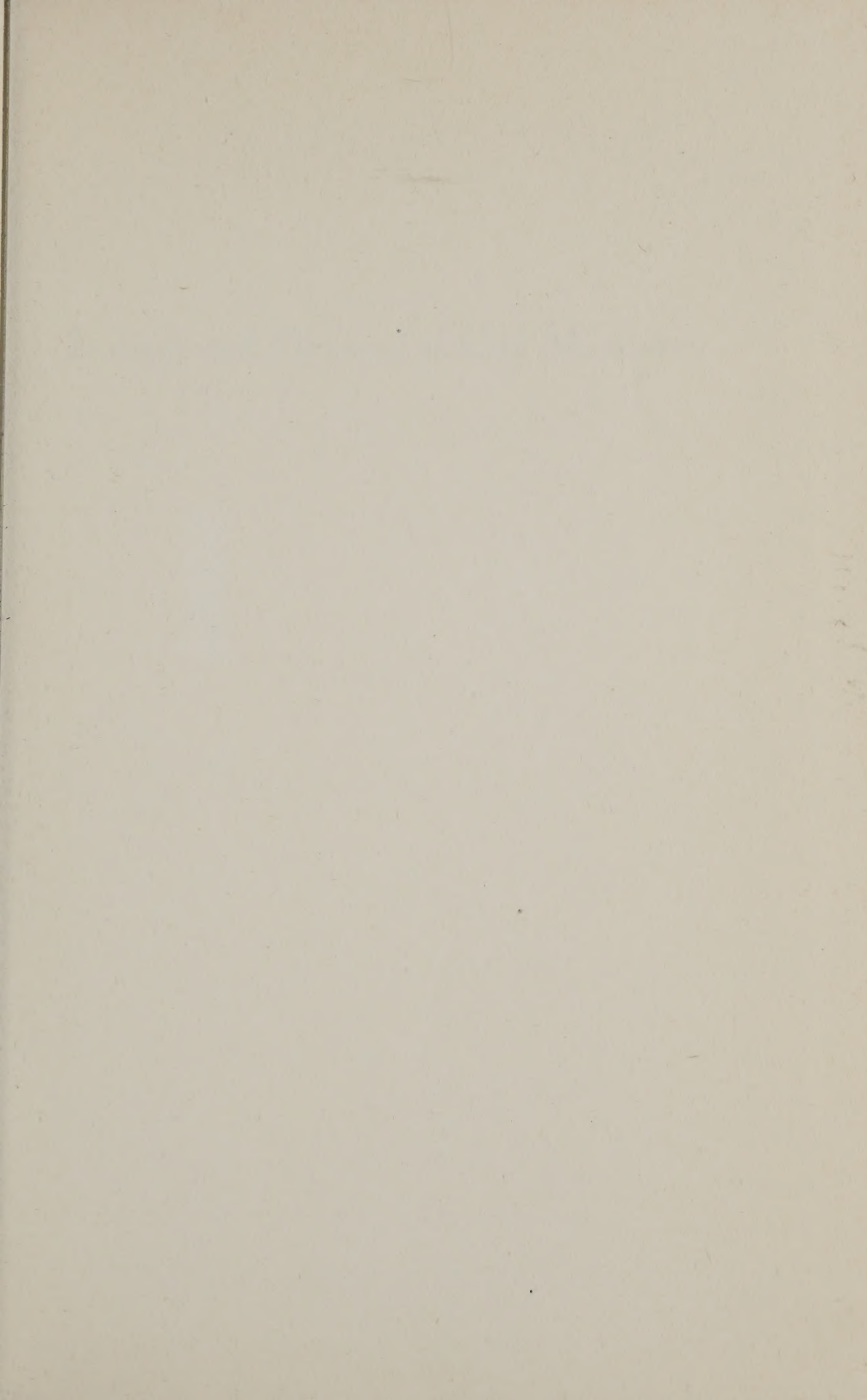
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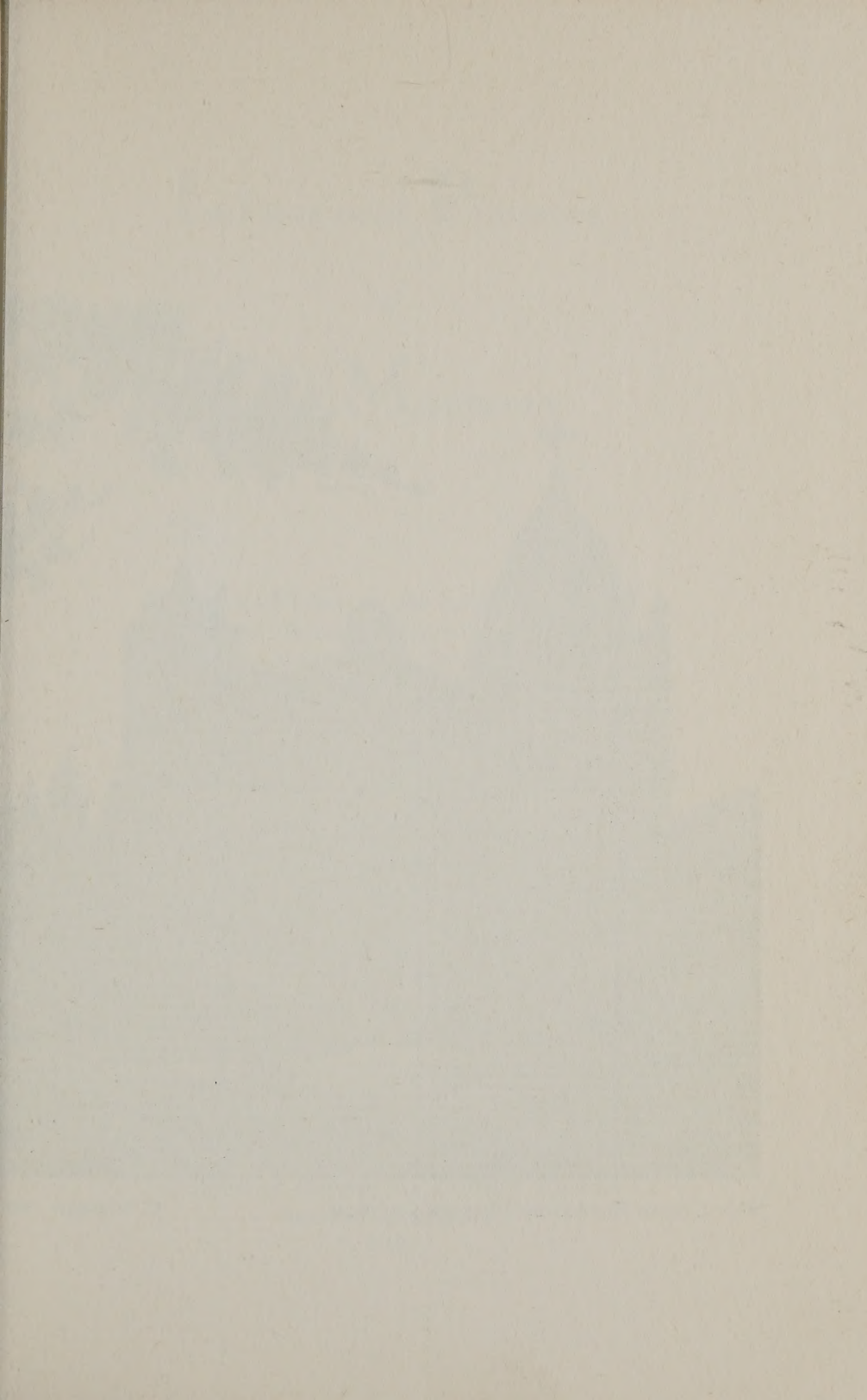


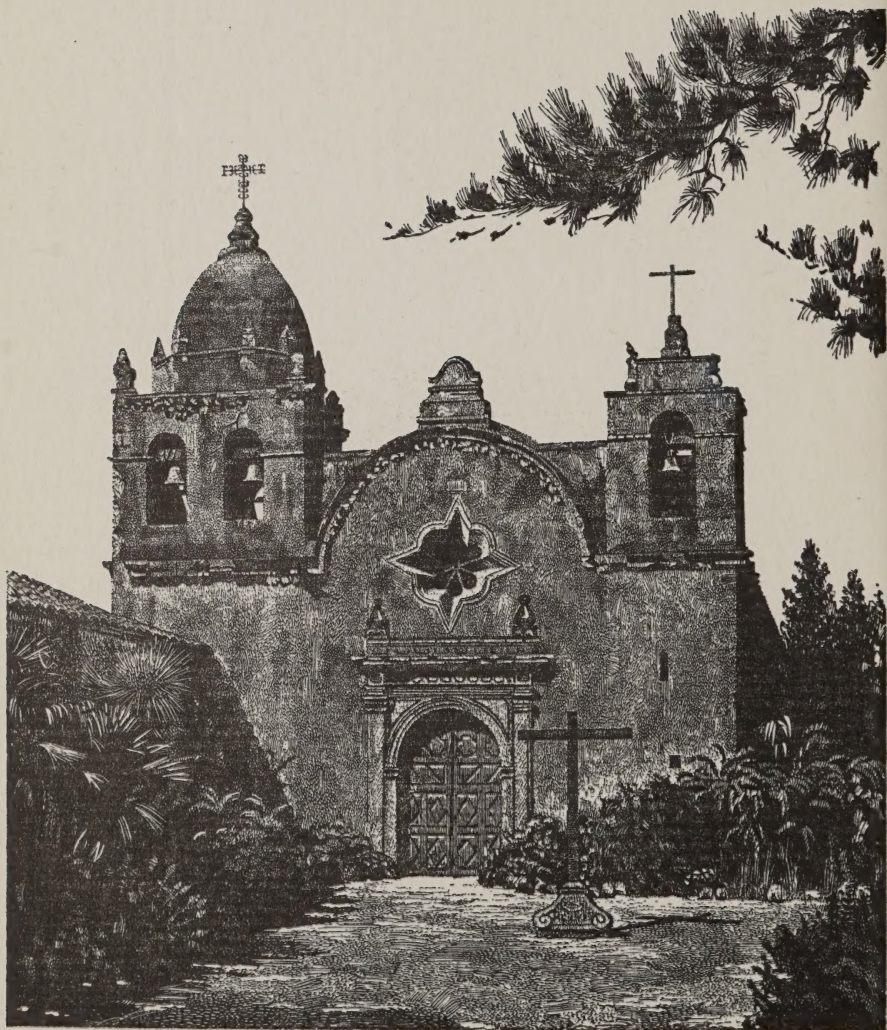
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Indians and Pioneers of Old Monterey





SAN CARLOS BORROMEIO MISSION CHURCH

C. Whitman 1948

Indians and Pioneers of Old Monterey

*Being a chronicle of the religious history
of Carmel Mission considered in connection
with Monterey's other local events and
California's general history; also a sketch
on aboriginal Monterey*

by

JAMES CULLETON

~~~~~  
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Preface . . .

The amateur is justified in entering the field of local history only by the realization that professional historians usually reserve their talents for greater things.

When this writer was stationed at Monterey he was subjected to pseudo-historical indoctrination from novelists, popular historians, guides, descendants of pioneers and a multitude of others just as ignorant about the whole thing as himself. From an effort to gather together into one convenient place all extant valid material about the old churches of Monterey and Carmel, there resulted enough to fill two volumes. This author has not the courage to select what pleases him and disregard the rest; hence this book uses only, but in its entirety, the material relating to the earliest times. Perhaps more leisure at a future date will make possible the preparation of the other volume.

There is no claim to have unearthed all documents, seen all authorities, or arrived at definitive judgments. I have merely done my best in limited circumstances to acquire all necessary material, report on everything seen, and judge soberly. The field is still open to my betters.

It is hoped that romancers, both vocal and scriptural, may find what follows helpful in keeping their imaginations within reasonable bounds.

The period covered makes the book deal with the discovery and conversion of the Monterey Indians, but a tenth chapter is added to bring the chronicle to the end of Father Amorós' pastorate.

Those not interested in a rather dry account of the oft-recited episodes which led to the occupation of Monterey should skip the first three chapters.

It is to be regretted that some typographical and other errors escaped my proofreading. These are usually self-evident. *Santa,*

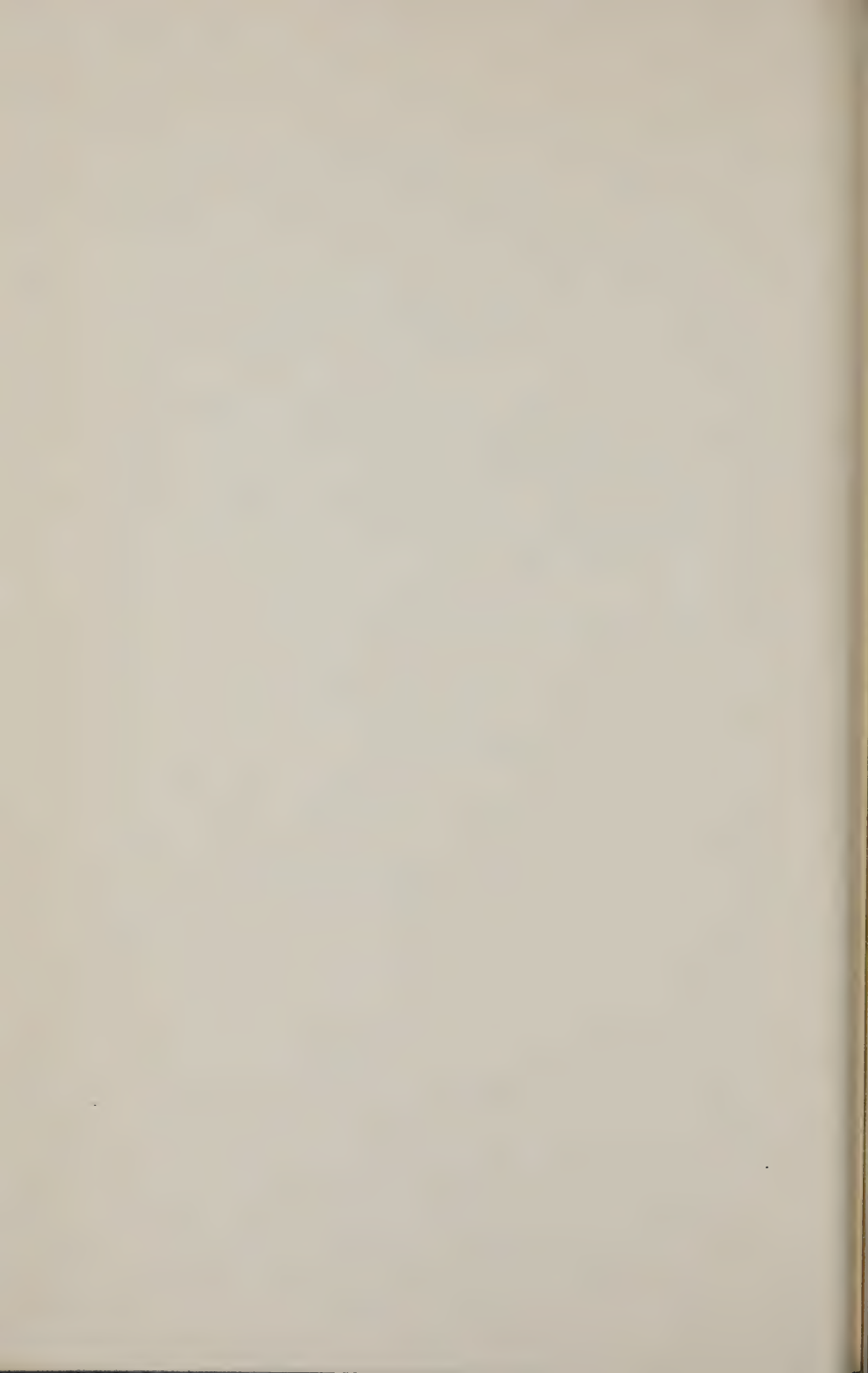
Monterey - 3.00

for example, instead of *San Buenaventura*. Accents, too, have sometimes been misplaced. The same name is often spelt differently, e.g., *Cuadra* and *Quadra*. Not infrequently in shortening a person's name I have omitted the *de*, e.g., Anza for *de Anza*, or I have used the wrong part of the family name, e.g., *Cuadra* for *Bodega*, *Navarete* for *Fernandez Navarete*, etc. In the Notes, article and book titles are similarly printed, while omissions in quotations are invariably indicated by three periods even though ending a sentence.

Regrettable as are such errors it would have been too costly to eliminate them at the time of discovery. Extra care has been taken to repeat all family and place names in the Index and there to properly spell and accent them. It is not out of place that different spellings have been used in the text, for in these cases the spelling used was that in the document being consulted.

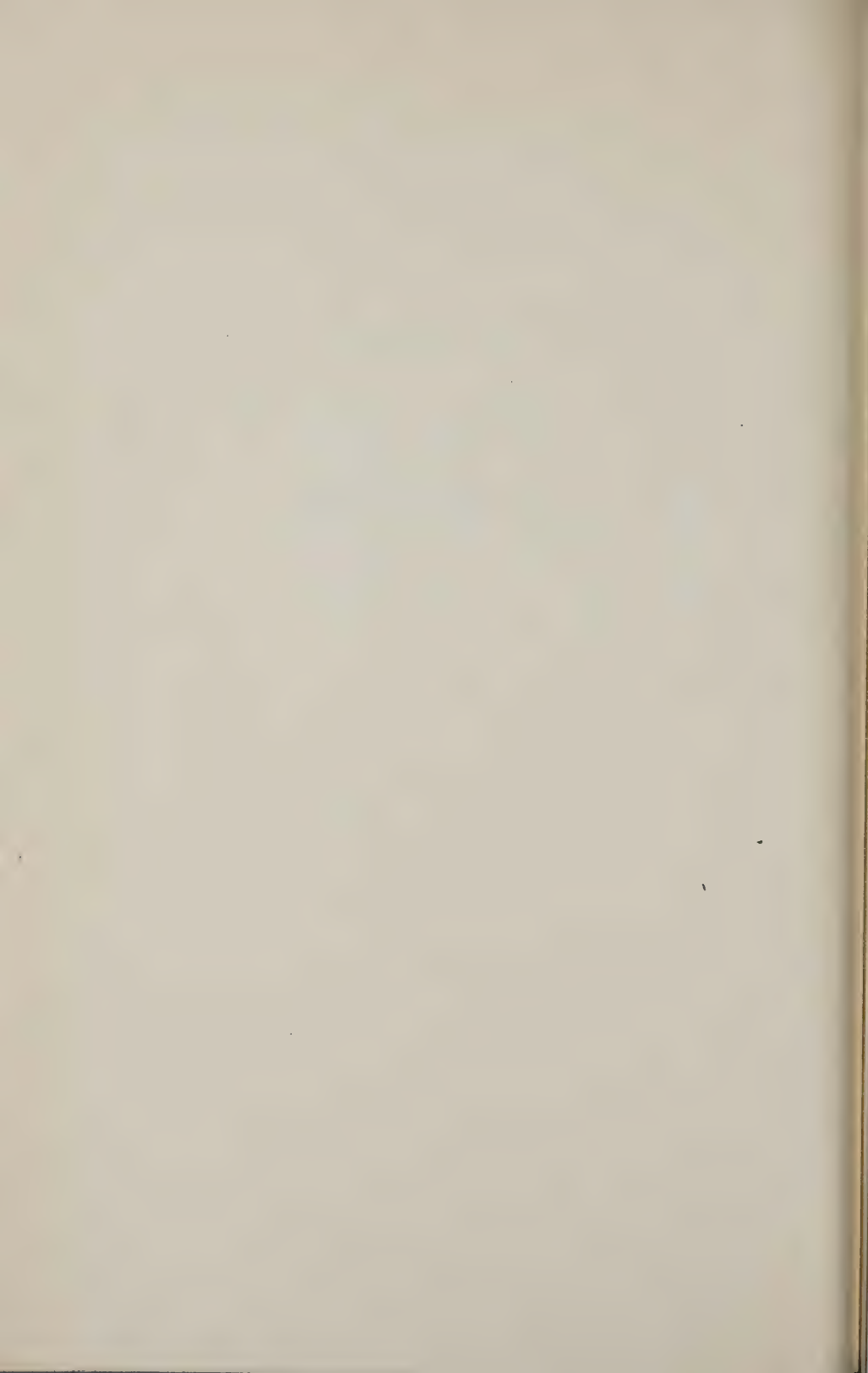
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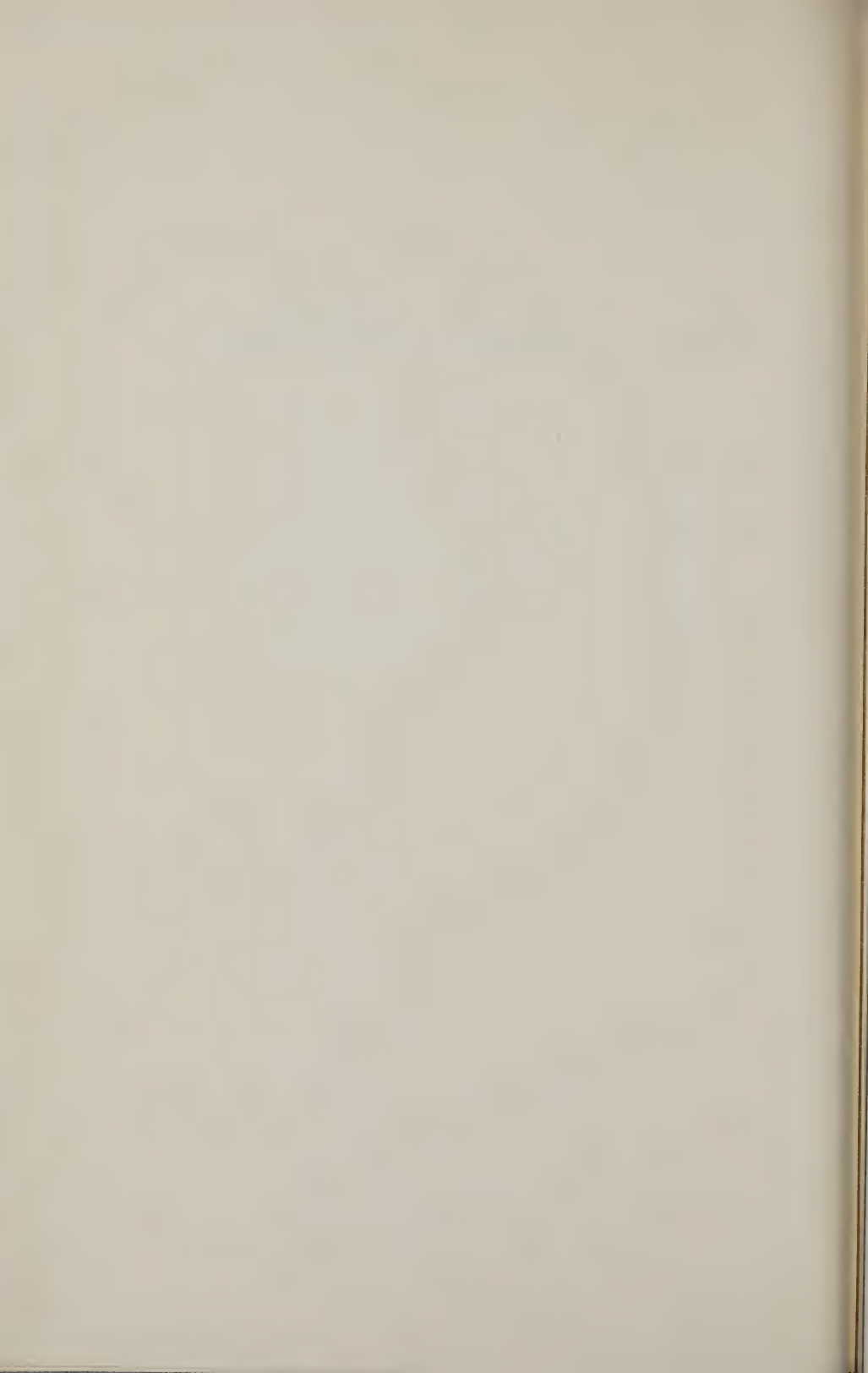


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Indians and Pioneers of Old Monterey



The First Christians at Monterey

(61 Years 1542 - 1603)

Cabrillo came, with the blessing of the Spanish crown, to seek wealth and even to establish a settlement and the Church, should the prospect give signs of profit. It is unlikely that he saw Monterey. Viceroy Moya inaugurated efforts to size up the West Coast for a settlement to port the Philippine ships. Unamuno and Cermeño thus landed in California while on commercial runs from Manila to Acapulco. The former did not see Monterey; the latter passed the bay and gave it a name. The records of these brave men were buried deep in musty archives. To avoid the folly of making western exploration incidental to Manila voyages, Vizcaino was sent directly from Mexico. He discovered Monterey and was not one to let his reports lie forgotten. Priests were with each expedition and it was said that the souls of Californians were the prime objective of each voyage. In fact, they were secondary to temporal advantages. Indian lands must pay for Indian conversions or there would be no Indian missions.



Cabrillo's Elusive Bay . . .

The first Christian who sailed close enough to California to be the theoretical discoverer of Monterey was Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo. The chief sources of information on this heroic adventure are silent on the part played therein by the Church. Just recently, however, there has come to light an affidavit made eighteen years after the voyage by a member of the expedition. He states that there was a priest with Cabrillo. But neither in the affidavit nor elsewhere is anything more said about him.

Just fifty years and one month after Columbus discovered America, on November 11, 1542, Cabrillo reached a point on the California coast which he named *Cabo (San) Martín*. He calculated it to be 2° above Point Conception. That night as he lay to some six leagues off this cape, a violent storm drove his frail craft out to sea. Nearly every commentator has his own notion on the location of this cape, and so it has been identified with about every jut of land between Piedras Blancas and Point Pinos.

November 14 Cabrillo's ship made its way back to land and sighted the coast about 2° above *Cabo San Martín*, at least so he reckoned. Here is a point which they named *Cabo de Pinos*. The identity of this second cape is much disputed and nearly every headland between the modern Point Pinos and Cape Mendocino has its defender.

November 16, midway between these two *cabos*, the ships entered a large *ensenada* which was christened *Bahia de los Pinos*. The various commentators, of course, are divided and three bays are contenders for the honors: Monterey, Drake's, and Bodega.

Bancroft and Wagner put up a good fight for Monterey Bay; Davidson and Bolton favor Drake's. But, no matter which side he taken in this controversy, certainty is impossible. The side to which one inclines depends merely on which items he chooses to stress or presuppose and which he chooses to ignore or minimize. In such a quandary we must deprive the great Portuguese discoverer of Upper California of all honor concerning Monterey except, perhaps, a fleeting glance at the outer coast line of the peninsula. 1*

* These numbers refer to the notes given in the section entitled "NOTES AND REFERENCES" at the back of this book, further explaining or giving references for the matter indicated.

Gali and Unamuno . . .

In the fifty-nine years which elapsed between Cabrillo and Vizcaino there was a fair bit of traffic on the north Pacific. We are, no doubt, without any records of some of it but in the accounts that have survived there is but one indication that foreign eyes had rested meanwhile on Monterey Bay.

In 1579 Drake, the gentleman pirate, came and went without being near its waters. From 1565 on, the Philippine ships crossed the Pacific in the latitudes of California. Though they frequently found their landfall as far north as Cape Mendocino we have but three pertinent accounts.

Francisco Gali in 1584 from his Manila galleon sighted a "very high and fair land, with many trees and wholly without snow." He considered it in $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$. It was California and very likely the Santa Lucia coast line, which Davidson says is the highest in the world.

October 17, 1587, Pedro de Unamuno came in sight of the California coast. Next day he anchored in a broad bay in $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ (according to his instruments) and made a landing. There are not wanting those who maintain that this may have been Monterey. The bay is poorly described, but the approach to it, the terrain, and the natives do not fit Monterey. It was, no doubt, in the vicinity of San Luis Obispo. There were three Franciscan priests on Pedro's ship, two of whom went ashore, the first being Fray Martín Ignacio Loyola, nephew of the great St. Ignatius. He was the first priest to land on California soil.

2

Cermeño . . .

November 30, 1595, Sebastián Rodríguez de Cermeño had his China ship, the *San Agustín*, wrecked at Drake's Bay. He was in the course of surveying the coast under orders from the crown, but the survey was merely incidental to his regular commercial run from Manila to Acapulco. In the wreck Fray Francisco de la Concepción, a Franciscan, and one other person lost their lives. The seventy odd survivors made their way to Mexico in the launch, *Santa Buena-ventura*, built on the shores of Drake's Bay.

Cermeño, mindful of his commission, made an heroic attempt to survey and describe the coast. We find in his declaration that

after passing the Farallones he discovered a very large bay which measured fifteen leagues across the mouth from point to point. It was determined to be in 37° and they named it *San Pedro Bay*. This was December 9, 1595. The place was Monterey Bay. The *Santa Buenaventura* anchored that night inside Point Año Nuevo. The travelers certainly did not regard the bay of any particular value and the viceroy considered Cermeño's work useless. 3

Credit Lost . . .

The Spaniards knew more of the California coast in those years than is given in the reports noted above. This is evident from at least two references. Gali mentions Cape Mendocino by name, yet it cannot be established that he, or any other recorded person, had christened it. Drake, while saying in one place that no Spaniard ever visited his *New Albion*, admits in another that they knew which way the wind blew in August at the place of his anchorage.

So while sailors had come in contact with California during her sixty year sleep, we have no evidence that any one of them, except Cermeño and his party, cast eyes upon Monterey Bay. None of these adventurers, not even Cabrillo, seems to have made more than a moment's impression on his contemporaries. A little of the information, without note of origin, found its way into unpublished charts of the coast or published maps valueless to sailors. A great part of our present knowledge has been dug out of archives in modern times. 4

The Religious Motive . . .

It is quite evident that religion was proclaimed to be the chief motive for these and all other Spanish explorations, but, in fact, it was only a secondary reason. Despite this, Spanish colonization resulted not only in conversion of the natives but as a rule in their preservation as well. All exploring commissions demanded that the natives be studied and treated with a view to their eventual Christianization. The order was not an idle one, for failure to obey it brought severe reprimands. The chief motives, nevertheless, were quite materialistic.

There is ground to suppose that Cabrillo sought wealthy domains and even that he had a commission to form a settlement along his route if he found such territory. What Gali's commission

was, if he had any, is not known. Pedro de Moya, the viceroy (who happened to be an archbishop), seems to have been the first Spanish official to favor occupation of a port in California. His interest, however, was commercial and not missionary. He was working on the idea when Gali's ship arrived and he talked the matter over with that gentleman. He even sent Gali back to Manila with orders to explore California on his return trip from the Orient. Gali died in the islands and Unamuno made the attempt in his stead. He failed, as did Cermeño, and was the last to attempt a California survey with a Manila galleon. There is no evidence that churchmen, as such, had as yet any interest in California or, for that matter, any knowledge of it which would induce them to think of missions.

Monterey owes its birth into history rather to the China ships and English piracy than to any intrinsic merit. Indeed, what is now California was to be given a consecutive history without consideration of its own merit, but merely by reason of the danger of foreign encroachment, and it was to be a coveted land, not for what was in it, but because it was a roadway. Sutter's gold, three hundred and six years after Cabrillo, was to make it an end in itself. Within a generation the gold was to become a minor item but, precisely then, the last but least appreciated Spanish conquest became recognized as probably the most intrinsically valuable stretch of land on earth. The Church, which was only accidentally responsible for the eventual occupation of Alta California, did consider its natives an end in themselves and were it not for them would have been entirely indifferent.

Vizcaíno Enters the Picture . . .

Galleons and pirates periodically worried the Spanish from 1585 to 1602. The fabled *Strait of Anián* also played its part, not for its own sake, but only as a convenient passage by which the English or Dutch might cross from Atlantic to Pacific and thus threaten Spanish dominion in the South Sea, or because some tales placed on its shores a wealthy realm. The conversion of the natives was featured again but only as it had been on previous attempts. In those early days a distinction between Lower and Upper California did not exist; hence, we must consider Vizcaíno's first commission

to found a colony in Lower California an attempt, despite previous failures, to push civilization somewhat closer to the galleon route. This venture, of course, came to naught.

The crown's last attempt in this series of efforts to know California was successful in itself but bore only geographical and nautical fruit. It resulted from a royal order of September 27, 1599, which directed that the outer coast of California be explored. Gali's idea of approaching California from the Orient was scrapped in favor of the old idea of proceeding directly from Mexico. Don Gaspár de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monte Rey, was viceroy of Mexico. He chose Sebastián Vizcaíno as general for the expedition. His failure in the gulf was evidently covered by the mantle of his affability, valor, and excellent seamanship, to which may be added the interesting items that he was not without personal wealth and that the viceroy's theologians advised Vizcaíno held a contract which in justice could not be voided even by the king. This did not entitle him to make this particular expedition but it did give him certain exclusive rights in the pearling waters of the gulf which the king wished to revoke and which Vizcaíno might forget for this commission.

It was not until March 7, 1602, that the general had finished his preparations in Mexico City. He left that day and arrived at Acapulco the nineteenth. There were with him from the convent of San Sebastián at the capital three Carmelite priests: Andrés de la Asunción, the commissary; Antonio de la Ascensión, assistant cosmographer; and Tomás de Aquino. In this group there were also the general's son, Don Juan, five naval and two army officers, and one hundred and twenty-six seamen and soldiers—in its entirety a hand-picked group. Other officers joined the forces at port, where evidently cabin boys, mess help, mechanics, etc., were recruited till the whole company numbered about two hundred men. Of this grand assembly about three-quarters were to survive the ordeal.

Two ships, a frigate and a long boat, comprised the fleet. The commander or general was aboard the *San Diego*; the admiral on the *Santo Tomás*. The frigate was the *Tres Reyes*. Vizcaíno, in compliment to the friars, chose Our Lady of Mount Carmel patroness and protectress of the expedition. With fitting ceremony her

picture was enshrined in the bow of his bark.

May 5, 1602, they set sail and went up the Mexican coast. Off Culiacán they headed the ships into the west and with much labor reached Cape San Lucas June 8. They abandoned the long boat at this point and continued up the outer coast of the peninsula. The weather was against them. They were often short of water and more than once the vessels became lost to one another. Not until November 10, six months and five days out from Acapulco (lat. 17°), did they reach Upper California waters and enter San Diego Bay (lat. $32^{\circ}41'$). Leaving this place the twentieth, they touched at Santa Catalina Island, passed through the Santa Barbara Channel and rounded Point Conception. From the name chosen they must have sighted it on the vigil or feast of the Immaculate Conception (December 7 or 8). 5

The Santa Lucia, Carmel and Monterey . . .

St. Lucy's Day, December 13, they had their very first southeast wind. It carried them as it had carried Cabrillo along the shore which skirts the Santa Lucia Mountains, so named for the saint of the day. Weather favored Vizcaíno where it had failed Cabrillo. Four leagues beyond the mountains they had passed the mouth of a river which enters the sea between some rocks. To honor the friars Vizcaíno named it *Rio del Carmelo*. Since it is not shown on their charts it may not have been seen till they made the inland trip, January 3, 1603.

Two leagues farther on, at sunset, they noted a pine-wooded point and christened it *Punta de los Pinos*. It forms the entrance to a port and seems a mountain some two leagues wide. Beyond they found a large bay "in latitude 37° full" and named it Monterey in honor of Gaspár de Zúñiga y Acevedo, Count of Monte Rey, Viceroy, Governor and Captain General of New Spain.

The first men to enter this port were those aboard the *Tres Reyes* under Ensign Sebastián Meléndez. Fray Antonio de la Ascensión was apparently among them. The entrance was made that same evening at the general's order, but finding the bay too large and darkness approaching, Meléndez returned to the ships without reconnoitering.

Next day he made a second entrance, a careful survey, and

drew a map of the place. That night he seems to have anchored in the port. The following morning he drew up alongside the *San Diego* and sent his pilot, Antonio Flores, to report to Vizcaíno and present the sketch.

The general held a parley with his councilors. Ensign Pasqual de Alarcón alone favored going on to the *San Agustín* wreck site which was well known to their chief pilot, Francisco de Bolaños, who had been with Cermeño. The general agreed with the rest and decided to enter. They needed water. The location of the port appeared favorable for the Philippine ships and some forty very sick men were aboard. That same evening all three vessels sailed into the harbor and cast anchor at seven o'clock.

The First Mass . . .

The next day, December 17, Ensign Alarcón, under orders from Vizcaíno, went ashore to prepare a place for the celebration of Mass and at the same time to locate water and get some idea of the terrain. The ensign and his men landed very likely at daybreak and no doubt close to the spot where he saw a great live oak so near the shore that some of its branches reached the sea. Not more than twenty paces from it was a small ravine in which were pools of good, sweet water sufficient for the expedition's needs. In the shadow of this historic tree the first white men to land on the peninsula built its first chapel, a hut for the sanctuary and an arbor for the nave.

This rustic carpentry was no doubt finished in short order and Alarcón notified the fleet that his errand was done. The general, Father Andrés, the admiral, one of the ensigns, and the rest of the men who were well enough landed. All assembled in the improvised chapel and the Carmelite friar said the first Mass in Monterey or, for that matter, the first on the Pacific coast north of San Diego. This was in the forenoon of Tuesday, December 17, 1602. It was the votive Mass of the Holy Ghost and a sacrifice to the Almighty that He might inspire the general and his council so to ordain that the interests of heaven and of the king might best be served. 6

Natural History . . .

The morning had been foggy but cleared as Mass ended. The party

found itself in a port which Vizcaíno professed to consider the best that could be desired. Without noting its vulnerability from the northwest he considered it sheltered from all winds. There was water aplenty and many pines suited for masts and yards; also oaks, both live and white, all large and healthy. The soil seemed fertile, the climate was as that of Castile. In fact, soil, climate, birds, animals, and trees all resembled those of Spain.

They set up camp and remained here from December 17, 1602, to January 3, 1603. It is unlikely that they went any distance from their landing place except on the day of their departure. Even at that, much wild game was seen: bear, deer, antelope, elk, rabbit, hare, goose, duck, partridge, quail, and dove. A dead whale had washed ashore and the bears fed on it at night. *Sea wolves* were all along the coast in great abundance. They slept on the water and when they sunned themselves ashore one of their number acted as sentinel. Professor Bolton considers them to have been sea lions. Monterey's peculiar shellfish, the abalone, was seen by Father Ascensión.

The Santo Tomás Departs . . .

December 18 a council was held in which Admiral Torivio Gómez de Corbán took part as well as the general and his three councilors. The scurvy was working havoc. Forty men were severely ill and several, some say sixteen, had already died. Juan Pascual, pilot of the *Santo Tomás*, Estéban Rodríguez, his assistant, and some of the helmsmen were on their backs. Many others were merely well enough to be around, while in the face of present and expected casualties they lacked suitable food and medicine. The admiral's ship was unseaworthy. Provisions for eleven months had been taken and eight months had already elapsed. With these woes upon him Vizcaíno revealed to his council certain secret orders he carried for a survey of the eastern coast of Lower California.

When all had been considered and everyone heard, it was decided that the *Almirante* would be sent back to New Spain with copies of records and accounts of the discoveries to date. It was also to carry back those who were most ill. Vizcaíno addressed a request to the viceroy that a further supply of men and provisions be sent to La Paz so that upon the return of the captain's ship and

frigate the secret order might be carried out. Meanwhile, these latter vessels were to continue on to Cape Mendocino and, weather permitting, even farther.

No time was lost in executing the decision. The unseaworthy *Santo Tomás* was supplied with wood and water. By reason of the illness of the men this was no easy matter. The documents and maps were diligently but painfully copied, for both the cosmographer, Captain Gerónimo Martín de Palacios, and the scrivener were sick. In about ten days all was in readiness.

Sunday, December 29, those about to sail confessed and received Holy Communion. The able-bodied attended Mass, the others received the Eucharist in their bunks. Those in danger of death were anointed. The sick were carried aboard the *Almirante*. Among them went Fray Tomás de Aquino. He had been ill many days but it was felt that he could at least confess those in danger of death. De Corbán was in command. As pilot went Manuel Sessar Cordero. There sailed apparently thirty-two persons, including able-bodied sailors to man the ship. Enough provisions to reach Acapulco had been loaded and orders were to proceed thence without call at any other port. That evening at eight the ship weighed anchor. Of this brave company only nine, including the admiral and the priest, lived to see Acapulco.

The Monterey weather was getting disagreeable and Vizcaino's party was to have a sample of the extreme cold which at rare intervals visits the Santa Lucia. On Christmas Day the mountains near the port were covered with snow. New Year's morn found the water holes frozen to the depth of a palm and the water bottles so iced that when turned upside down not a drop ran out.

After the departure of the sick all turned their attention to preparing the other two vessels for the northern adventure. The cold made this very unpleasant and in the rush even the general lent a hand. Captain Peguero and Ensign Alarcón, though ill, so worked as to draw special words of commendation. The pilots also spared no pains that all might be in readiness. 7

Carmel Valley and the Indians . . .

By Friday, January 3, only a few chores remained undone and these the general left to others. In company with Father Andrés

and ten arquebusiers he went inland towards the southeast to have a better idea of the place, its people, and its animals. About three leagues from the camp they discovered another port. A copious river descending from high snow-covered mountains flowed into it. This is Carmel River and Bay. Large pines, white and black poplars, and willows grew near the river which had an extended bottom. It was here and now that they encountered the elk already mentioned. They tried to kill some but the animals fled out of range. They saw no Indians but noted a village. It was a league from where they stood and evidently on or near the north bank of the river. Ensign Juan Francisco and four soldiers were dispatched to investigate and found the place deserted. In Vizcaíno's opinion the inhabitants had taken refuge in the interior to escape the cold.

This is the only village or *rancheria* mentioned. It was likely near that known to Father Serra as Tucutnut, alias Santa Teresa, which the mission records locate on the bank of the Carmel about a league from the church. The district which is Monterey and probably also that which is New Monterey and Pacific Grove was uninhabited in 1602. Had there been villages near the camp the fact would hardly have gone unmentioned. Vizcaíno does say that the land was thickly populated with numberless Indians of whom a great many came several times to the camp. He adds, however, what in charity we take to be his authority: "These visitors said by signs that inland there were many settlements."

Neither the general nor the padre has left us much information on these Indians. They appeared to be a gentle and peaceable people, docile, generous, and friendly but not very adept at making themselves understood. The general was certainly deceitful when he wrote the king that the Montereyans were of good stature, fair complexion; and the women possessed of pleasing countenances. Their common food was shell or other fish, acorns, and a nut larger than the chestnut. The 1603 letter adds to this food-list, seeds in abundance and variety and the flesh of game, such as deer, bear, etc. For raiment they used the skins of sea lions and elk leather jackets. The statement in the same letter that these were better tanned than Spanish leather is false. So also is the other matter about fishing lines and hunting nets made of flax, hemp or



La Pérouse Expedition Sketch

INDIAN HUNTER

Carmel 1786



cotton and pine wood boats with fourteen paddle men on each side. This entire information must not be thrown out. Vizcaíno says that it applies to the natives along the coast. Restricted to the channel islanders it is no doubt correct except for the material of which the twine was made. The Montereyans had twine for lines and nets but no boats. Bows and arrows were in use.

The exploring party returned without having seen a single Indian and reached the flagship at nightfall. The main party had gone but three leagues from camp and the scouts a fourth league. 8

The Voyage Continued . . .

The two vessels weighed anchor at midnight, January 3, 1603. They became separated off Drake's Bay and were not reunited till both arrived at Acapulco. Each separately had reached an undetermined latitude above Cape Mendocino and then with scarcely an able-bodied man aboard they raced for their home port.

The *San Diego* skirted the coast, and January 25 passed Monterey. The Indians signaled with smoke but the sailors did not enter port nor dare cast anchor. So sick were all aboard that they feared it could not be raised again. Thus passed again into a tranquil sleep the bay of Monterey. Father Serra's was to be the next clearly recorded vessel to trespass upon its waters and that after a lapse of one hundred and sixty-seven years.

February 23 the *Tres Reyes* docked at Acapulco. It bore only Estéban López (a pilot), and four soldiers. All the rest had died. The *San Diego* arrived March 21. Its human cargo had fared better, thanks to a providential cure for scurvy discovered when the vessel was forced to anchor off the islands of Mazatlán. The men suffered as much but many lives were saved. 9

Results . . .

Had the contemporaries of Vizcaíno known all the details in their archives the only fruit of the general's voyage would have been the discovery of the remedy for scurvy and of the fact that Cermeño's *San Pedro Bay* had a port near which some Indians dwelt. The remedy was effective only provided the patient lived till he got to a land where grew the fruit called *xocohuizlte*. The value of the port was grossly exaggerated and so were the number and character of its inhabitants. But the exploits of Vizcaíno's prede-

cessors were then ignored or very imperfectly cartographed. Hence the general's findings and names determined subsequent coast pilots, and his accounts, chiefly the falsehoods in them, were to be an incentive for both Church and State to finally occupy Monterey.

We shall likely never know the exact number of human lives paid for this incorrect or impractical information. The sources place the deaths en route at between forty and forty-eight but some say that sixteen had died before the *Santo Tomás* left Monterey. If thirty-two were aboard, then her casualty list was twenty-three, and two more evidently died ashore. It is not said how many were on the *Tres Reyes* when she left the famous port but only five survived. The general's ship lost thirteen before reaching Mazatlán. In the light of this, one is tempted to consider forty-eight deaths a very conservative estimate.

The surviving soldiers were paid off at Acapulco and the friars received enough to take them to Mexico City, whither all set out, arriving on April 19, 1603. The two priests chanted Mass at the Hermitage of St. Anthony Abbot in accord with a vow made in latitude 42°. The men attended this Mass and the general presented a silver lamp he had promised in the same latitude. Then all went together to the convent of San Sebastián and thence to Chapultepec to greet the viceroy. He was greatly pleased and promised to reward each according to his merits. 10

The Church and the Voyage . . .

Religion entered this voyage as it did all other contemporary Spanish enterprises. The viceroy was interested in the safety of the realm and of the China ships. Vizcaíno sought unknown treasures, a reputation, and future security. The king was by no means adverse to the safety of the realm and of the China ships nor to the treasures, but he made clear "the conversion of the Indians" to be "the main end" Vizcaíno was to accomplish. He ordered him censured for killing some natives in the gulf voyage and that on the next expedition he should have with him prudent men for guides and as many religious as possible.

It would seem, therefore, that the religious went along both as chaplains and to study the field from a churchman's viewpoint. As chaplains they committed but one fault. A priest should have

been aboard the *Tres Reyes* when the vessels left Monterey. Any priest would prefer a priestly companion in danger, but priestly consolation to the sick and dying should be put before this comradeship. As a result those who died aboard the *Tres Reyes* did so without the sacraments.

We have not much information about the second assignment. Fray Ascensión kept a diary but we have only his extracts of it. It seems generally agreed that Torquemada had the use of it in preparing his work. Torquemada's words about the Californians attracted to that field one of the state's greatest missionaries, Father Palou, and no doubt influenced the zeal of Father Serra and others.

While in California the priests said Mass at San Diego and Monterey. Although the documents speak of Mass at the latter place but twice, namely, on the day of landing and on that of the *Santo Tomás'* departure, it was no doubt offered daily—at least Fray Antonio said the chapel in each place was for daily Mass. Fray Tomás was certainly too ill to celebrate at Monterey but seems to have been well enough at San Diego. Fray Antonio was not stricken till the expedition was off Cape Mendocino and Fray Andrés, though infirm at Mendocino, stayed afoot the whole voyage. The only mention we have of religious contact with the natives is the note in Vizcaino's 1603 letter. The Indians "were well affected towards the image of Our Lady which I showed them and very attentive to the sacrifice of the Mass."

There is no evidence that the good padres did anything about promoting the Christianization of California except, of course, that for twenty or more years afterwards Fray Ascensión in his *relaciones* did urge occupation and spiritual conquest.

The Carmelites are not to be blamed too much for not having gone beyond words. The Spanish religious of those days depended too much on the government and few there were among them who had the initiative to turn the king's decisions in their favor or to provide for themselves the initial means for spiritual conquest. A union of Church and State in a Catholic country is quite natural, but in the Spanish union the Church was too often a mere servant of the king, and too many churchmen took this as a matter of course. The Jesuits of Lower California were a glorious exception.

II

While Monterey Slept

(166 Years 1603 - 1769)

Vizcaino had fabricated a famous port and was determined to settle it. The Carmelites had no objection to being the missionaries. Viceroy Zúñiga's successor was the villain in the play. The general landed instead in Japan, failed there, and died in obscurity.

As the 18th century dawned, roadways, Christianity, and colonization commenced their march toward Monterey. The Church was in the vanguard in the persons of Fathers Kino, Ugarte, Salvatierra, and their Jesuit colleagues. Lower California was occupied and its missions pushed to within a hundred miles of San Diego. At the same time, on the mainland the mission chain was slowly and painfully lengthened till it reached into the present state of Arizona. By 1769 the gap between Vizcaino's port and the nearest missions had been shortened by hundreds of miles but was still formidable. Gálvez bridged it along the coast and five years later Anza opened up a land route direct from Mexico City.

It is possible that meanwhile a ship or two or the survivors from a wreck had stopped at Monterey. If so, they left no records, just impressions on the Indians or in New Spain.

Viceroy vs. King . . .

Vizcaíno had been sent to find a good port. He located but two worthy of any name and he pictured one of them as perfect. To attract the Church he peopled Monterey with numberless ideal Indians though he saw but one deserted *rancheria*. To entice colonists he spoke of much fertile land while he stood on sand overlooked by mountains. While numb with cold he wrote that the climate was like Seville's. The friar diarist did not contradict his general. So untrue was this picture that Portolá and Crespi failed to recognize the place. Still Monterey may thank her discoverer and the Spanish, who change convictions and plans but slowly, that she and her painted glory did not instantly vanish with the discovery of her truly glamorous rival, San Francisco Bay. As Vizcaíno made her, she became a Spanish objective through seven generations and as the crown ordained her, she remained for three generations Mistress of California.

The problem of immediate occupation seems not to have been clearly grasped at court. Sea traffic between Monterey and New Spain was almost out of the question. The northward voyage was in face of hostile winds and not a single settled port intervened. Nothing at all was known of a land route. The court, however, may have respected this and probably intended that Monterey be succored from the Philippines by means of the galleon.

The viceroy had appointed Vizcaíno commander of the Philippine ship leaving Acapulco in 1604 but the count ended his term six months before the ship sailed. His successor, Juan de Mendoza y Luna, Marques de Montes Claros, became the villain in the play for Spanish settlement of the famous port. He rescinded the general's appointment and made him instead *Alcalde Mayor* of Tehuantepec and later deprived him even of this. The royal court, however, was displeased at this attitude and by a series of decrees issued in 1606 ordered that Vizcaíno be given command of the 1607 galleon. On the way back from Manila he was to make a thorough survey of Monterey and upon reaching Mexico again he was to be given first-class colonists and a generous cash allowance to found a settlement at Monterey.

Montes Claros received, or claimed to have received, these orders after the galleon had left. He further expressed the opinion

that Monterey had two bad points. It was too close to Mexico to serve the China ships and too far therefrom to be defended, while undefended it could serve as a supply base to enemies as well as nationals. He suggested that instead the king should seek the islands *Rica de Oro* and *Rica de Plata*, alias *Isles of the Armenian*, and there establish the galleon port.

There was a story from the previous generation which credited Friar Urdaneta, Father of the Galleon Service (1565), with the possession of a document recounting how a Portuguese ship, driven in a storm eight days to the west of Japan, came upon two wealthy islands. Two merchants of this vessel, one a Portuguese, the other an Armenian, traded with the inhabitants who were civilized. They were paid generously and in silver. In honor of the second merchant, the islands were named *Isles of the Armenian*. 12

Vizcaino's Exit . . .

The Council of the Indies followed the viceroy's suggestion and Vizcaino was sent off to find at royal expense the figment of someone's imagination.

This interesting voyage was the general's third claim to immortality. He visited Japan as its first and last ambassador from New Spain. Unwittingly he started timepiece manufacture in the islands by presenting a Madrid clock to the emperor. He taught the natives the art of coast survey when for want of a cosmographer he employed a Japanese artist. To some extent he occasioned the Protestant Dutch calumnies against the Catholics which so prejudiced the emperor that a persecution ensued. It enriched heaven with many a martyr and wiped organized Christianity out of the land. Needless to say he found not the *Isles of the Armenian*. The Franciscan, Friar Juan Sotelo, tricked him out of whatever shreds of glory the Japanese voyage might have had and forced him to return to Mexico, a passenger on a ship built by his own men. He reported to the viceroy in 1614 and thereupon passed into obscurity and with him the hopes for a seventeenth century settlement at Monterey.

Roadways Opened . . .

While the port continued a royal objective, the conviction prevailed that it must first be brought within reasonable communica-

tion distance of civilization. The barrenness of Baja California and the hostility of Indians in Sonora, Durango, and Chihuahua cut off for generations, respectively, the sea and land routes to the Golden State.

From Cortéz in 1533 or 1534 to the Italian Jesuit, Salvatierra, October 11, 1697, Lower California had defeated every attempt at occupation; yet meantime it had enriched with its pearls many an adventurer. The king had entrusted the spiritual welfare of the Californias first to the Franciscans, who failed with both Cortéz and Vizcaíno, then to the Carmelites, who through zealous Fray Antonio de la Ascensión did nothing more than appeal to the royal conscience and purse. The Jesuits entered the picture with Atondo in 1685. His colony failed and the sons of St. Ignatius refused an offer of forty thousand pesos a year to take over the job single-handed.

Father Eusebio Francisco Kino had been in California with Atondo. He was personally enthusiastic about succeeding where others failed. His superiors assigned him to the Pimería Alta where he met Father Salvatierra, then Jesuit inspector of missions. This Milanese grasped Father Kino's mind and headed a movement for Jesuit occupation. He got permission from his superiors and procured a government license dated February 5, 1697. With Father Juan de Ugarte he started subscriptions to defray expenses and by October 11, 1697, he had landed with six soldiers in his own pay on the inhospitable shores. By October 18 he had chosen a spot, called it Loreto, and started his mission.

The subscriptions he initiated came to be known as the *Pious Fund*. It was from the beginning the financial backbone of every mission in the whole of the Californias. From 1702 on, the government to some extent helped the financing of Jesuit expansion. The self-reliance and success of the Jesuit fathers has ever been an example to the humble and a thorn in the side of the proud; yet, at that, their rule both civil and spiritual in this barren land is one of their greatest glories. By the time of their dissolution throughout the Spanish dominions in 1768 they had extended the royal frontier to within one hundred miles of San Diego.

This Jesuit success in the occupation and Christianization of the peninsula opened a more or less practical sea route to Monterey

and also a land route, if not from Mexico, at least from a port just a few days distant from the mainland.

The same Father Kino, whose zeal, knowledge, courage, and foresight were the foundation of Christianity in Lower California and of its consequent routes to Monterey, was also, but in far larger measure, responsible for the direct land route from Mexico City. While laboring among the Indians of the Pimería Alta he and his companions extended a chain of missions into the present state of Arizona. Meanwhile, he had explored the Gila and Colorado valleys and satisfied himself that California was part of the mainland. It was his conviction that operations should be directed toward the foundation of a settlement on the Colorado so that Apache and Moqui Indians could be kept in check, thus opening an all-land route not only to Lower California but even to Monterey. So well did Father Kino play his part in this objective and so logically did he make his ideas known by manuscript and press, that his suggestions became the Spanish program from his day to that of Anza.

Father Kino and his fellow priests planned for Indian souls. The king and his army followed the plans, that France and later England and Russia might be kept far from New Spain. France and England were feared because the size of the American continental belly was underestimated and the Rockies were scarcely known. It did not seem farfetched to suppose that the French might use the Carmel River to reach Monterey!

Monterey's Long Sleep . . .

So while the name of Monterey was on many tongues and though missionaries, soldiers, Christianity, and colonists were moving toward it on both land routes, no serious suggestion, much less attempt, was made to occupy the place. Indeed we have but scant evidence that white men had visited it between 1603 and 1769. Cabrera Bueno, writing in 1734, says that the galleon usually sighted the Santa Lucia Mountains. He makes a few corrections in the Bolaños coast survey, thus suggesting that others had checked on Vizcaíno's accounts. There is only one other galleon witness who refers to California during these years, Gemelli Careri. He states that the 1697 ship came to land at Santa Catalina Island.

There seems to have been a tradition in Mexico that the China ships were accustomed to make port at Monterey. Fray Ascensión in his short report writes of Monterey Bay: "This is where the ships coming from the Philippines to New Spain come to reconnoiter . . . when (they) . . . arrive . . . they have already sailed four months and they come in need of repairs, which in this harbor they can make very well and with perfect convenience." The quotation is a 1620 interpolation and is intended to refer to events between 1603 and 1620, but it could be based on rumor as are other interpolations in this report.

Monterey baptism 834 reads as though the Franciscan padres believed that the China ships used to call at Monterey. "On October 4, 1783 (at Carmel), I baptized a man more than a century old, native of the Rancheria Sargenta Ruc . . . his birth was in these parts and he says that he remembers when in olden times the China ship used to make port hereabouts, the which dealt with these gentiles giving them beads for the pelts of (sea) otters, and on one occasion they left at Cypress Point a cask or barrel so that they might use the iron of the hoops. As a gentile (this old man) was called Pechipechi and he is held by his own (people) in much veneration, etc., (signed) Fr. Matías Ant'io de S'ta Catarina."

Another Indian testimony, recorded in Anza's diary for April 23, 1776, speaks of twelve persons, likely Spaniards, whose launch was wrecked in 1753 at San Luis Obispo. The circumstantial evidence in both accounts inclines one to admit their truth. Father Crespi's diary for August 26, 1770, notes at *Cañada del Cojo* European beads which the Indians say have come from the north. Other similar references occur in the 1769-1775 literature.

Bridging a Gap . . .

This process of gradually extending the frontier towards Monterey would never have brought that port under the Spanish flag. The gap was still forbidding in 1768 when the Jesuits were banished from both advancing roadways, and Russian, English, or American traders would very likely have unfurled their nation's colors in California within a decade or two. Such and far worse gaps, however, have been bridged time and again by one extraordinary man. In this case that man was José de Gálvez.

The definite decision to occupy the port of Monterey came into history as a bolt from the blue. José de Gálvez, a member of the lesser nobility, scion of a poor Andalusian family and a lawyer by profession, was appointed by the king *Visitador-General* of New Spain, February 20, 1765. His commission, as least insofar as it was public, empowered him to reorganize New Spain from a fiscal viewpoint. The king needed more revenue.

Gálvez was an executive of the highest type and fairly cognizant of his own qualifications and limitations. He had a profound knowledge of men and their weaknesses. He knew how to use this knowledge. In Spain by his wits he had gone over the heads of those who encumbered offices merely because they belonged to the right family. In Mexico he encountered lazy, selfish, nearsighted officials. The use of his knowledge of human nature either swung them into line or out of the picture. Such a man would naturally throw into positions persons whom he could trust as being faithful to him personally. For Gálvez, his work and his objectives came before any particular individual. He could not be idle; he planned quickly and with detail, nor did he waste time executing plans or removing obstacles in their path. On the other hand, he had at least one serious fault and it was probably a mental defect. Certainly for a while in Mexico he was partially insane. At other times, when he was apparently quite normal, he would justify very drastic action, even execution and mutilation of rebel Indians, by the fact that he had prayed about the matter, or he would push his ideas with the conviction that they were divinely inspired. This mentality is not infrequent in very religious persons who reach key positions but who are stubborn, ambitious, and given to making their plans without oppositional advice.

Why a fiscal inspector turned his attention to settling Indian troubles in Sonora on the land route to California, or to the occupation of that territory, may never be known. Some say selfish ambition was the motive. The occupation of California was the only remaining obtainable glory. Others say that he had in mind future revenue for the crown. Neither seems to be an adequate explanation though both may have been motives. One can hardly be blamed, even in the absence of documents, for believing that the inspector had secret orders to look into the matter and do what he

could. Publication of such a purpose would only have endangered Monterey. It was certainly not evident at court how long such an undertaking would require and, on the other hand, enemies apprised of the intention might beat the Spanish time. Cruillas, viceroy during Gálvez' first year, opposed him, but the next viceroy, de Croix, who left the old country a year after Gálvez, practically turned the government over to him.

At any rate, Gálvez arrived in Mexico in July, 1765, and besides fulfilling his public commission he plunged into four other heroic enterprises, all of which succeeded. These four, one way or another, were connected with the occupation and solidification of the port of Monterey. He sent soldiers into Sonora to destroy forever the power of hostile Indians. By May, 1771, their work was completed and became permanent accidentally. Gold was discovered and in its wake there entered sufficient whites to handle any future Indian emergency. The Franciscan missionaries were to push the Sonora frontier to a point which permitted the passage of Anza to California. He made a port at San Blas and created there a maritime department to handle future needs of Sonora and the Californias. He determined on and prepared the ground for a commandancy-general, independent of the viceroyalty of New Spain, and comprising the frontier provinces: Nueva Vizcaya, Sonora, Sinaloa, and the Californias. This plan was made effective by others in 1776. Lastly, he determined on and accomplished the occupation of Alta California.

The troops for Sonora sailed from Guaymas in March, 1768, and April 9, Gálvez left Mexico City. He intended to inaugurate the work on port facilities at San Blas, study conditions in Lower California, go thence to Sonora to supervise the Indian warfare, and when it was finished to organize the new government. He did go to Sonora after the California expeditions were dispatched but sickness overtook him and he was forced to leave.

As he approached San Blas, May 5, he received from de Croix the communication which made actual the Spanish entrance into the Golden State. This letter merely stated that in a communication dated January 23, 1768, the king had expressed concern lest the Russians extend their commerce into the Pacific, and that it was his will that the governor of California keep an eye on develop-

ments, frustrate any Russian attempts, and keep His Majesty informed through the viceroy.

Gálvez went on to San Blas where he arrived May 13. On the sixteenth he discussed with his councilors the occupation of Alta California. On the twentieth he wrote the viceroy that in fulfilment of the king's orders, as well as the viceroy's, and having in mind conversations which he had had with the viceroy, he had determined to reach Monterey by land and sea, take possession of the port, and establish a presidio there. On the twenty-fourth the inspector left for Baja California but did not reach his destination till July 5.

Gálvez proceeded in his usual rapid-fire manner and while reorganizing the local government and missions, to say nothing of studying the country, he was preparing for the northern expeditions.

Father Serra . . .

Franciscans of the College of San Fernando, Mexico, with Fray Junípero Serra at their head, had taken over the orphaned Jesuit missions of Lower California in the spring of 1768. This was shortly before the arrival of the inspector. The secular administrators had left the once flourishing establishments in a sorry mess. Gálvez wasted no time in ousting unfaithful stewards and returning the church temporalities, or rather what was left of them, to the fathers. Spanish occupation of any field was unthinkable without parallel ecclesiastical institution and the logical priests for the projected northern establishments were the Fernandinos. The college at the capital did not like the idea but Gálvez was not a man to worry about that. The government had papal authority in the matter and the *Visitador* used it. Father Serra himself was enthusiastic at the prospects. Insofar as he was a truly zealous priest he ever thirsted for more souls. Insofar as he was human, hope sprung eternal in his soul. He no doubt realized that the great northern unknown spaces could not possibly have offered as wretched a field as that which he surveyed in Lower California.

Father Serra was made president of the missions to be established in the new lands and Gaspár de Portolá, governor of the barren peninsula, was put in command of the expeditions. The *San*

Carlos and the *San Antonio*, vessels built for transport service to Sonora, were designated to make the approach by sea. Twenty-five Catalonian Volunteers were ordered dispatched from the Sonora front. They arrived under command of Lieutenant Pedro Fages. The *Visitador* and the Father President took from the peninsula missions all the livestock, provisions and equipment that could be spared and more.

By Land and Sea . . .

The objective of the expeditions was Monterey, but to break the distance it was planned to head for San Diego, and then go on to the famous port. Within six months Gálvez sent the first expedition. January 9 the *San Carlos* (two hundred tons) sailed from La Paz under Vicente Vila with sixty-two aboard. Fray Fernando Parrón was chaplain. Fages and his twenty-five Volunteers, the engineer, Miguel Costansó, and the naval surgeon, Pedro Prat, were in the company. At intervals of about a month other detachments departed. February 15 also from La Paz sailed the *San Antonio* under Juan Pérez. Fray Juan Vizcaíno was chaplain and Fray Francisco Gómez his companion. The number aboard is unknown. March 24 the first land division left Velicatá under Captain Fernando de Rivera. Fray Juan Crespi was chaplain and José Cañizares cosmographer. There were in the company twenty-five soldiers of the *cuera* (leather jackets), three muleteers, and fifty-one Indians from local missions. April 15 the second land division departed also from Velicatá under Commander-in-chief Portolá. In the company was the Father President, Fray Junípero Serra, Sergeant José Ortega, and his ten *cuera* soldiers, four muleteers, two servants, and forty-four local Indians. June 16 a third vessel, the *San José*, under Juan Callahan departed. It was forced to return to San Blas for repairs. Eleven months later it sailed but was never heard of again.

The four major expeditions reached San Diego but not all with equal fortune. The *San Antonio* arrived April 11 after a fifty-five day voyage. Every man aboard except the friars was ill but none had died. On the twenty-ninth, after a voyage of one hundred and ten days, the *San Carlos* entered port. Everyone on board was sick and twenty-four sailors had perished. Rivera's party reached

the rendezvous May 14, or in fifty-one days. Five of the Indians had died and nearly all the rest had deserted; only thirteen reached San Diego and some of them were sick. Portolá arrived in forty-eight days on July 1. Of the Indians who were with him only twelve completed the journey; some died and the rest deserted.

The land parties had fared comparatively well but those who had come by sea suffered untold hardship. The very entrance into the Golden State had cost twenty-four white and no doubt as many Indian lives, to say nothing of the whole crew of the *San José*. Others, both Caucasian and American, were to die at San Diego. Despite the misery he found on his arrival, Portolá held a council and determined to send the *San Antonio* back for provisions and men, while he pressed on by land to Monterey.

III

The Elusive Port

(11 Months 1769 - 1770)

Portolá set out from San Diego July 14, 1769, and returned with his force intact except for five deserters, January 24, 1770. He had gone to the south shore of the gulf of the Farallones. The expedition had gazed on the waters of Monterey Bay, brought back an accurate description of the place, but had failed to recognize Vizcaino's harbor. At San Diego, however, their comrades were convinced that the party had been to Monterey, so when supplies arrived the Spaniards proceeded back, recognized the famous port, and June 3, 1770, both mission and presidio were founded.

The Road to Monterey . . .

Portolá arrived in San Diego July 1, 1769. Next day he held a parley with his officers and on the ninth Vila departed in the *San Antonio* for San Blas and provisions. By the fourteenth Portolá and his men were already on the march in search of Monterey. Don Pedro Prat, the expedition surgeon, recommended a change of climate for those with mild cases of scurvy; hence, the commander made some adjustments in the personnel of his company. Seventy-four persons were in the expedition.

This brave outfit made its way northward keeping as close to the shore as possible with a weather eye out for the *San José*. Sergeant Don José de Ortega with seven soldiers would go ahead a day or two in advance to explore the terrain for the marches, thus keeping the main body out of bottle necks caused by land contours or hostile natives. They were at the Los Angeles River August 2, the site of Santa Barbara the nineteenth, and by September 13 they found themselves near Ragged Point where the coast becomes impassable. This forced them inland over the Santa Lucia Mountains. The sixteenth they began the difficult passage and ten days later emerged at the Salinas River near where King City now stands. The scouts had gotten a view from some high point of this river and the Salinas Valley. They mistook the distant fog for the sea and were sure the river was the Carmel. It was some days before they realized their error.

13

The Salinas Valley . . .

The Spaniards followed the river downstream, camping September 27 near the site of Metz and next day near the spot now called Camphora. After Mass, the twenty-ninth, they went on over level grass-covered country. The valley grew wider and the river bed was pleasant with trees, verdure, and myriads of Castilian roses. Many antelope were seen.

Having gone about ten miles they stopped at noon by the river where it narrows a bit and so runs more rapidly and noisily. In its bed was a grove some four hundred *varas* wide and issuing thence a great uproar and shouting. Portolá, Father Crespi, and others, thinking the commotion must have come from a *rancheria*, went to investigate. Instead a hunt was in progress and the natives

had not even noticed the Spaniards. When they did see them, the shouting stopped and terror reigned. A white flag had no meaning for them and they began to blow a pipe and throw earth into the air. The Spaniards, seeing their fear, left and returned to camp.

They named this site *Real de los Cazadores*. It was near Chualar in the territory of the Ensen Indians. This day they had entered the district to be served later by San Carlos Mission. They were to wander about it for nearly two weeks without identifying the place.

On the thirtieth they went another ten miles or so. The soil both days continued whitish, and treacherous for the animals, as there were fissures. The grass in the stretch covered this day had been burned. That evening camp was made below the site of Old Hill Town. They could hear the ocean but could not see it. The scouts had already explored ahead as far as where the Salinas River forms an estuary before entering the bay. From that point they noted sand dunes and a distant mountain range which terminated in a pine-covered point.

October 1 both priests said Mass in this camp and the rest attended. It was the first time since Vizcaíno that the Clean Oblation had been offered in the Monterey district. After Mass they moved the camp three or four miles nearer the bay to a spot they named *Santa Delfina* in the vicinity of modern Blanco. Here they remained six days to rest and explore. The place was some four miles from the beach and in a grassy plain near the river. Portolá, Father Crespi, and five soldiers went on to the beach and from atop a small hill they beheld the great bay and the landmarks, Points Pinos and Año Nuevo. All were in great spirits for they were convinced this was Monterey Bay. 14

Monterey . . .

Next day Portolá sent Rivera with eight soldiers to examine the pine-covered point. Meanwhile, Father Crespi determined the latitude of their camp to be $36^{\circ}44'$. Cabrera Bueno has assigned 37° full to the port of Monterey. Its true latitude is $36^{\circ}31'$. The party, of course, understood that neither their instruments nor Vizcaíno's were entirely accurate.

On the third the scouts returned with bad news. They had

found a pine-covered point but no harbor on either side of it. There was indeed a little bay to the south and an *arroyo* came down from the mountains to empty into an estuary. Nearby were inconsequential lagoons. It was evident to them that the coast beyond was so rugged as to defy examination. They and those who heard the story were convinced that the point was not Point Pinos and it was even doubted that the mountains were the Santa Lucia. They were sure that Monterey could not be along the rugged coast they had skipped. The little company was naturally very dejected and one is tempted to feel that the sickness which began to strike down some of the soldiers was aggravated by this disappointment just when everyone's hopes were so high.

October 4, the feast of St. Francis, an arbor was thrown together and each Franciscan said Mass in honor of the Holy Ghost that, through the intercession of their holy founder, He might enlighten the officers as to what would be best for the greater honor and glory of the king. The commander and officers then held a council to which the priests were invited. The lack of provisions, the presence of scurvy, and the hardships endured during the twelve week tramp were considered. On the other hand, the port was not in the latitude assigned to it, nor to the south thereof. The padres spoke of the holiness of their commission which after all was only for God's glory and the good of Indian souls, and argued that God, therefore, would be with them. A vote showed that all were determined to do or die. So it was decided to continue the search to the north and they hoped to find the *San José* awaiting them in the famous port. 15

The Pajaro Rancheria . . .

In order to further rest the men and animals they remained at *Santa Delfina* while Ortega and his men scouted the beach to the north. They were gone overnight and returned quite jubilant on the sixth. They had found a river and its valley (the Pajaro). There was much verdure, many cottonwood, alder, and oak trees and a populous native village. The ground showed tracks of large animals with split hoofs. They even imagined they could make out through the fog a pine-covered point. This picture fitted Vizcaino's yarn much better and spirits rose again.

The Pajaro village was near the river bottom and the scouts placed its population at five hundred. The Indians were taken by surprise when the scouts hove into sight and were greatly terrified. Some ran for their weapons, others shouted and yelled. The women wept. Ortega was a wise and brave man with much Indian experience. He dismounted and approached but the Indians signalled him to stop. When he did, they stuck arrows and small daggers in the ground and brought feather headdresses which they put with the arrows and then withdrew. The Spaniards took some of these things, thus greatly pleasing the natives. To further reassure them Ortega made signs for food. At once the women began to grind seeds. They made balls of dough with the meal and gave them to the soldiers. The Spaniards distributed beads and all appeared happy. Despite this, the timid Pajaronians fled at the approach of the Spanish main body.

After Mass, the seventh, they got everything ready and at noon set out over the plain to the north. To cross a couple of swampy ditches they had to make fills with earth and bundles of twigs. In three hours they covered about six miles and camped that night beside what is now called Espinosa Lake near Del Monte Junction. For the first time on the journey they saw cranes and these in great number. So while Father Crespi christened the lake *Santa Brigida* the soldiers called it *Grullas*. Nearby was a *rancheria* but it had been abandoned. One *cuera* soldier confessed and was anointed that night and another in the morning. Both received Viaticum after Mass. These and nine others had to be carried on improvised litters as the party continued its way.

They set out at eight and noted that the Indians had left arrows and darts in the ground and with them some mussels. They had done this the afternoon or night before without showing themselves. The road was bad, every hollow was a swamp, even though the hills were higher than those of the last march; hence many detours were necessary. In five hours they covered about twelve miles and reached the site of the large village visited by the scouts but it was empty and burned. This was quite a blow to the Spaniards for they badly needed friendly Indians to guide them and introduce them to other natives along the route. They camped two nights on the river bank near the burned *rancheria*. The place was

apparently on the Salinas side of the Pajaro near the site of Watsonville.

The soldiers found a large straw-stuffed bird in this place. It looked like a royal eagle and had a wing span of more than six feet. This taxidermist's specimen gave the river its name: *pajaro*, bird. Father Crespi added the Christian name, *Santa Ana*, but it has not survived. The Indians who occupied this district were later known as Guaccherones.

The Redwoods . . .

While the main force rested Ortega and his men scouted the next two marches. Their report caused sorrow for they saw no sign of Monterey. Nevertheless all set out as usual at eight in the morning. The road was good, over a plain and then low hills, but they made scarcely more than three miles for the sick were in great misery and increasing in number. In the distance Father Crespi saw a herd of large deer which reminded him of Vizcaino's animals. The troop stopped near Pinto Lake where pasture and water abounded. It was during this short march that they became the first white men to see the very high trees with reddish bark. They were very abundant in the Pajaro hills. For want of a better name they called them *palos colorados*, red timber.

By reason of the sick they were forced to remain at this place till October 15. Meanwhile, Ortega and eight men went ahead some thirty-five miles as far as the Santa Cruz Mountains but returned the fourteenth without seeing any signs of the elusive port. These days were dark with clouds and fog. Diarrhea afflicted the men and though it weakened them it began to cure the scurvy.

After Mass, the fifteenth, said for the recovery of the sick, they set off through a valley of redwoods and over hills covered with buckeye nut trees. Within a mile or two they reached Corralitos Creek, thus passing out of what was to be the domain of San Carlos Mission. They arrived at the site of Santa Cruz October 18, and continued on close to the shore till they could see the Farallones and Drake's Bay which they recognized from Cabrera Bueno's description. They realized that if Monterey Port really existed, it was behind them. This was October 31.

16

The Return to Monterey . . .

November 11 they commenced the return march. By the twenty-third, they were again in Corralitos Valley and they rested that night at Pinto Lake. On the twenty-fourth, they went past the site of their camp on the Pajaro and saw the Indian village as they had left it. They halted about three miles further on near a lagoon, called by them *El Macho*, and by us Elk Slough. The main party rested next day while the scouts had another look at the coast. Unfortunately nothing new was learned. Each friar said Mass the twenty-sixth and that day they covered about fifteen miles and camped at *Santa Delfina*. On the road they saw an Indian village in the course of construction. The scouts had seen the Indians at work but when the main body arrived not a native was in sight. The group was the same which had been encountered at the Pajaro *rancheria*.

On the twenty-seventh the troop ascended the Salinas River some three miles to where its water was fresh and fordable. They crossed easily and headed south and southwest toward the coast over sandy, brush-covered, scantily pastured ground spotted with clumps of small live oak. Traversing some sand dunes between the bay and Laguna del Rey, they came in sight of Point Pinos and camped near the small lagoon now called El Estero.

November 28 they passed through a large pine forest and then ascended a pine-covered ridge, thus rounding Point Pinos with the water to their right. At least Costansó and the scouts took this route. Beyond was a small bay (Carmel) protected from all but west winds. Thus was pioneered what later came to be known as The Seventeen Mile Drive. Crossing the Carmel River to the east of its salt water estuary they went on about half a league to camp close to the shore near San José Creek. Here pasture and firewood abounded and the water was plentiful and good. Father Crespi is somewhat kinder to the Carmel than were the scouts. He calls it a small but copious river. They were here till December 10. 17

Hunger and Cold . . .

While the animals fared well the men were hard put for food. There was neither fish nor game, not even mussels on the beach. The soldiers were forced to eat sea gulls and pelicans which even hunger

could not make palatable. On the thirtieth about a dozen Indians, who said they had a *rancheria* up the valley, brought a good ration of *pinole* and seeds which was divided among the men. They were rewarded with beads. December 1 a mule was killed and served but only the Catalonian Volunteers and Indian servants would eat it.

To make matters worse the cold was intense with north winds lasting as much as two days. On the third it rained hard when the wind shifted to the south for the afternoon. Toward the end of their stay snow began to cover the neighborhood and December 7 a violent storm at sea annoyed them even on the land.

Signs of Monterey . . .

Costansó determined the latitude to be $36^{\circ}36'$. Rivera with his men, and six Indian laborers, who were to clear the roads, departed December 1 and returned at nightfall the fourth. The exploration had to be on foot. They ascertained that the mountains behind the camp were the Santa Lucia. The signs noted in Cabrera Bueno were there: the high white cliffs and the top-shaped rock (Point Sur).

All realized, of course, that the place bore considerable resemblance to Vizcaíno's port but they saw no port, and what was worse for Father Crespi there were very few Indians. He ended up not knowing whether to say that Vizcaíno was a deceiver, that an upheaval had changed things, that they were blind to the port, or that the port was somewhere else. The officers were evidently in the same quandary.

Meanwhile, two mulatto muleteers who had gone to hunt did not return and two of Rivera's Indians deserted. 18

Carmel's First Mass . . .

Carmel's first Mass had been said at the camp Sunday, December 3, St. Francis Xavier Day. Each priest celebrated, which one first is not noted, and all attended, except the scouts who were away. On the sixth and the seventh Father Crespi offered Mass in honor of the Holy Spirit and all attended. At Mass, the sixth, he made some sort of vow. On the feast of the Immaculate Conception, Patroness of the Kingdoms of Spain and beloved Superioress of all

Franciscans, both celebrated and all attended despite raw and stormy weather. Their last Masses were the tenth, the day before departure.

The Council and Departure . . .

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Since all efforts to locate the harbor had been exhausted and as there remained but sixteen sacks of flour, Portolá invited the officers and priests to attend a meeting December 6. He put it off till the seventh to give more time for thought. The commander was considering leaving some of the party in this camp and going with the rest to San Diego. Fathers Crespi and Gómez volunteered to stay. They felt this would force another attempt to locate the harbor in case their present failure should induce the authorities to abandon the project and with it the Indian souls.

On the seventh the council was held. Besides the view of Portolá to split the company there was a second which favored all remaining till the provisions gave out and then rushing for San Diego, eating mule meat on the way. This group evidently expected that there was a chance of the *San José* appearing. Portolá changed his own idea in the light of this latter suggestion, for he realized that if snow blanketed the mountains as it appeared about to do, they would be either closed in at a spot where hunting was out of the question or perish trying to get over the range. So it was determined that signs would be set up for the *San José* or any other ship that might come and that the whole company would set out at once for San Diego.

The weather did not permit either a start or much work the eighth. They prepared and inscribed two large crosses the ninth. After Mass, the tenth, the scouts set up one cross on a hill at the Carmel beach. It bore the inscription: "Dig at the foot and you will find a letter." The letter, put in a bottle, described their route, condition, and decision. It also suggested that the ship's crew which should find it might turn back to San Diego in the hope of sighting and relieving the land party. The other cross was planted near a pool on an eminence and facing Monterey Bay. Its inscription read: "The land expedition returns to San Diego today, December 9, 1769."

December 10 they set out and crossed Point Pinos to the site

of Monterey. On the eleventh they retraced their steps to the site near Old Hill Town. Here they were fortunate enough to kill some geese. Next morning both priests said Mass in honor of Our Lady of Guadalupe. That day they made their old camp in the territory of the Ensens. On the fifteenth they were near King City and by the twenty-third had crossed the Santa Lucia. No time was wasted. Indian kindness and the fortunes of the hunt favored them. The flesh of eleven mules helped out. They reached San Diego January 4, 1770, with the company intact except for the deserters. It had taken them three and a half months to reach the gulf of the Farallones and less than three months to return.

This expedition brought back a report which should have excluded the possibility of a mission at Monterey. It was the most thinly populated spot they had passed and what few natives appeared were the lowest and most timid encountered. Elsewhere, however, there were plenty of souls to harvest, so since that harvest depended by royal will on an occupation of Monterey the padres were determined to locate there whether or not souls abounded. The priests and officers at San Diego were sure that Portolá and his men had been in Monterey and told them frankly that the expedition "had been to Rome but had not seen the Pope." 19

Father Serra's Miracle . . .

Provisions at San Diego were getting slim and the arrival of seventy famished men from their fruitless tramp did not help matters. Neither the *San José* nor the *San Antonio* had been heard of. To relieve the situation Portolá sent an expedition to Lower California. It left San Diego February 11 but did not start its return till May 23. Father Palou says that Portolá was determined to abandon Upper California unless provisions should arrive by St. Joseph's Day, Father Serra's pleadings to the contrary notwithstanding. A novena was said which ended the nineteenth and that very afternoon a ship was seen far out at sea. It was the *San Antonio* heading for Monterey as ordered. Either because when it stopped at a channel port for water it learned that Spaniards had gone north and then south, or because it lost an anchor, the ship returned and entered San Diego Bay March 23. This providential happening saved the day, for the *San Antonio* had been well provisioned. 20

Off Again for Monterey . . .

Spirits rose to their old heights. Even Portolá, who was cautious about exposing his men to undue hardships, agreed with the Father President and the rest that by land and sea they should proceed to Monterey. The force was divided so that there should be some protection for San Diego. April 16, 1770, the *San Antonio* sailed out of the bay. In it went Father Serra, Costansó, and Don Pedro Prat. Next afternoon the land expedition got under way with Portolá in command. There went with him Fages, the twelve surviving Catalonian Volunteers, seven *cuera* soldiers, five Lower California Indians, and two muleteers. Father Crespi functioned as chaplain. 21

The Land Force Arrives . . .

The land force followed the same route taken on the return from Monterey. It had been shortened somewhat by explorations of the scouts. The Indians along the way received them well. In the Santa Lucia they recovered two Lower Californians who had deserted the year before; a third had died. With two days' rest and thirty-six on the road they reached Monterey, Ascension Thursday, May 24, 1770.

They camped at the old spot by El Estero. Portolá was curious about the cross so without dismounting he took Father Crespi, Fages, and one of the *cuera* soldiers who knew the location and went on to where it was planted. They paid the customary reverence to the emblem of our salvation but saw no indication that meanwhile any ship had come. It was evident, however, that the natives had been much impressed by the symbol, for all around it sticking in the ground were feather-topped arrows and stakes. A string of tolerably fresh sardines dangled from one stick, a piece of meat from another. At the foot of the cross lay a heap of clams. It would seem that like signs of peace and friendship had been manifested by the natives as the Spaniards approached Monterey, for Father Crespi says that all along the road similar plumed shafts were noted.

Having examined the cross they went down to the beach. Thousands of sea lions were about, so close to one another that they looked like a pavement. Two young whales lay together not more than a hundred yards off shore. The waters were as calm as those

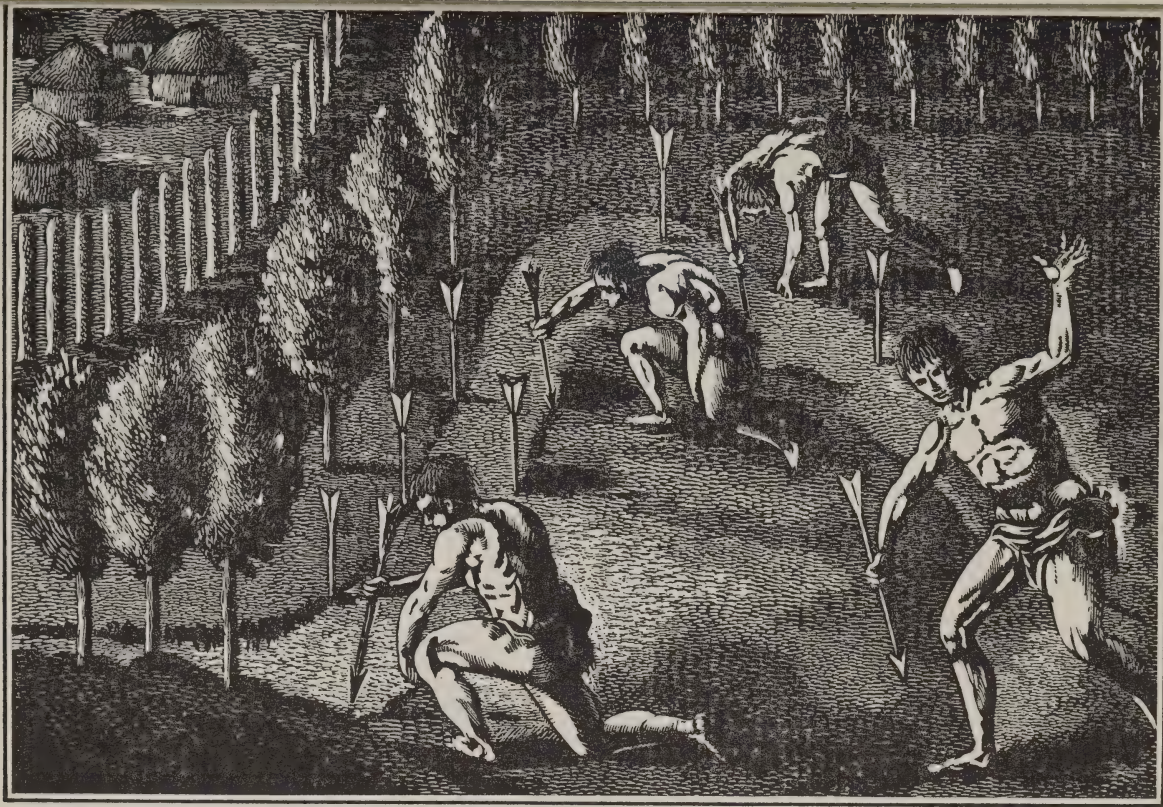
of a lake. From where they stood Monterey Bay looked like a great "O" just as it had appeared to Vizcaíno. They no doubt felt a little embarrassed that they had not gone personally with the explorers when they were there in the previous December, for they realized that the cross squarely marked the harbor. Father Crespi's compass showed that the bay was open to the north northwest as Cabrera had said. They even discovered the low grassy place near the estuary where history said that good water could be obtained by digging shallow wells.

They seem not to have dug wells just then for the party crossed the peninsula and camped on Point Lobos where they had been the previous December. The pack train went over the hills by more or less the route of the modern Monterey-Carmel highway. The commander, missionary and Lieutenant Fages followed the beach around Point Pinos and on the way discovered Monterey's cypress trees. An Indian who was on the beach fled into the woods at their approach. They passed many pines which the natives had felled by fire rings at their bases. Four days after the Spaniards set up the Carmel camp, a great number of unarmed Indians were seen silently watching the place from a nearby hill. When the soldiers had dispersed the horses which were grazing on that side of the camp some forty Indians came forward carrying two or three baskets of *pinole* and feather tipped rods. The Spaniards took the food offering and some of the rods, which they considered peace symbols, and gave the bearers beads and ribbons. The Indian chief who walked a little ahead of the rest was painted a shiny black. He promised to return with venison in four days.

22

The San Antonio Arrives . . .

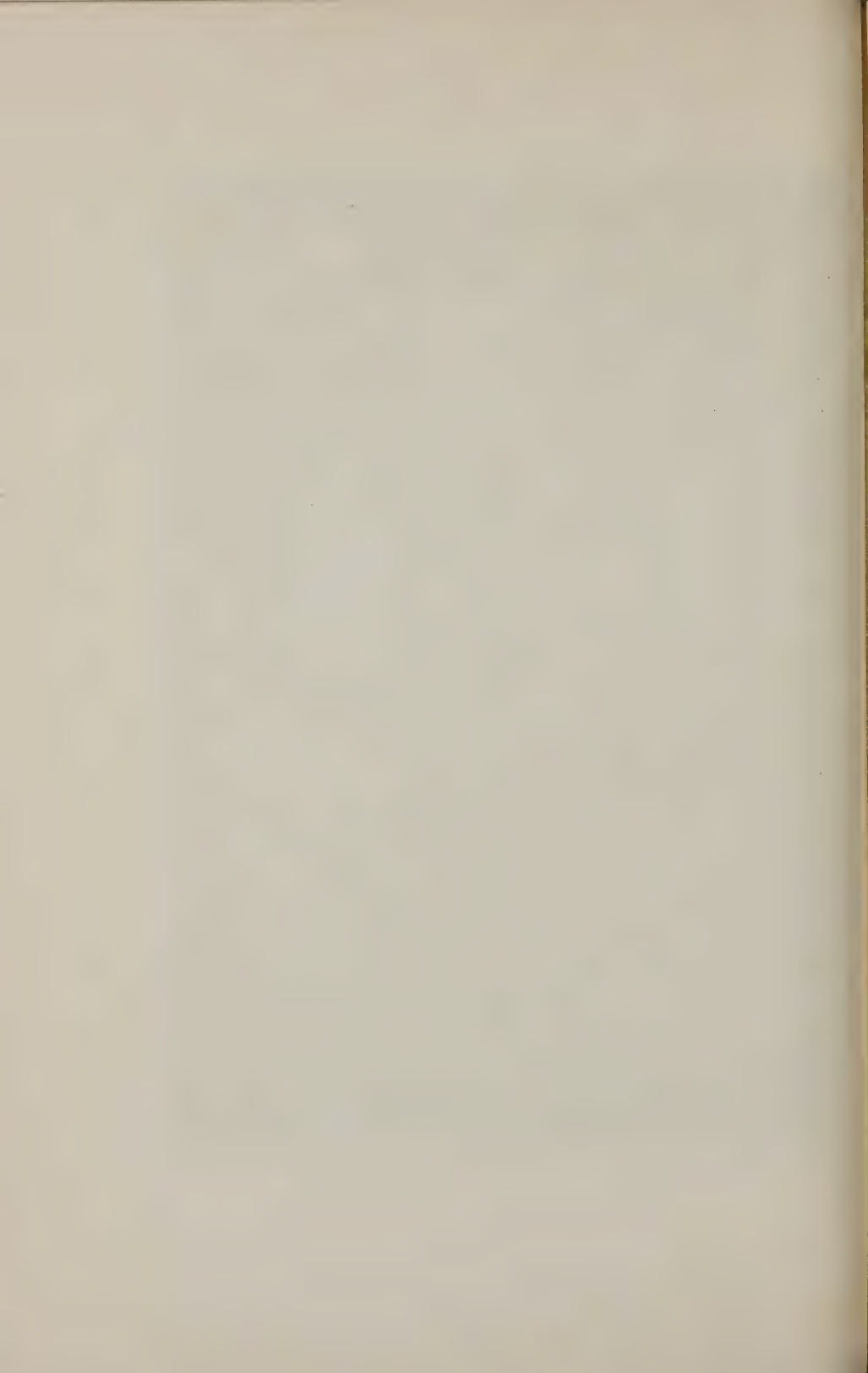
The *San Antonio*, alias *El Príncipe*, took eight more days than the land party but this resulted from contrary winds which first drove it south of San Diego and later north of Monterey. May 31st, the Octave of the Ascension, the land party sighted the bark close to Point Pinos. Portolá ordered three fires lighted. This was the sign agreed upon. The vessel fired a cannon to indicate recognition. Following Cabrera's directions and preceded by a launch taking soundings, the packet boat went in about two hundred *varas* beyond Point Pinos, like a hand into a glove, and cast anchor that same



FLORIDA INDIANS' SYMBOLIC WAR CHALLENGE

From de Bry: Voyages, Florida, 1591

The Monterey Indians also stuck arrows in the earth near the camps of Portolá Expedition but probably to symbolize their desire for peace.



night in six fathoms directly under the spot where the cross stood.

The fires seem to have been lighted on Point Pinos and the soldiers who performed the task evidently waited at the anchorage. The captain of the bark at once sent a messenger ashore. The pilot had been very delighted with Cabrera's work and said that the author had not missed a single point on the whole coast.

Next day, June 1, early in the morning the governor, padre, and lieutenant came over to the harbor. Embraces and congratulations were exchanged while soldiers and sailors expressed their delight with many salvos on both land and sea. Of course, everyone was now certain that they were at Monterey and therefore at the spot which Carlos III had ordered them to settle. Everything was exactly as described by their predecessors except the large number of heathen but this point they considered understandable in a land where whole villages moved overnight.

They had lunch on the bark and in the afternoon the land party returned to Carmel where they found their good Indians awaiting them with three deer and enough *pinole* to fill a large bag.

Pentecost Sunday . . .

June 3, Pentecost Sunday, Portolá, Fages, Father Crespi, six Catalonian Volunteers, and four *cuera* soldiers went over to the port. They arrived early in the morning but the men of the barks had already prepared a nice chapel of branches beneath the Vizcaino Oak. Bells had been hung and a table served as the altar.

The ceremonies of possession and establishment began with a great ringing of bells. Then Father Serra, vested in his habit, alb, cincture and stole, knelt with the rest and intoned the hymn of the day, *Veni Creator Spiritus*. Father Juan Crespi and Don Miguel Costansó formed the choir so they continued the sacred anthem. Meanwhile the Father President blessed water and therewith a great cross that had been prepared. This was at once raised by the whole company, set into a hole that had been made ready, and venerated by all present. The surroundings and the shore were next sprinkled with holy water; Father Serra with his customary faith, zeal and enthusiasm no doubt went about swinging the hyssop with vigor.

A note of sadness then entered. Alexo Niño, the vessel's calker

who had died aboard ship the day before, was now given Christian burial at the foot of the great cross.

Father Serra vested for Mass and proceeded to the altar on which stood a beautiful statue of Our Lady. He chanted the Mass of the day and the choir responded. The singing was a capella but absence of instruments was compensated for by repeated barks of cannon and volleys of musketry. The celebrant preached after the gospel and when Mass ended all sung the *Salve Regina* before the statue. The ceremony, like all others of joy and thanksgiving in the Church, concluded with the singing of the *Te Deum*.

Heaven having been served first as is proper, Governor Portolá proceeded to serve the King by taking formal possession of the land in the name of Don Carlos III. While the troops stood at attention the royal standard, which had already been unfurled after the erection of the cross, was raised anew. To this were added the customary ceremonies of pulling up grass, breaking twigs from trees, throwing stones and earth to the four winds, and drawing up a legal record of all that had taken place. This done, Father Serra, in the name of the Apostolic College for the Propagation of the Faith at San Fernando de Mexico, founded the new mission under the patronage of St. Charles Borromeo; the church thereof he dedicated to St. Joseph. Gálvez had assigned both patrons the year before. As ecclesiastical superior the Father President named himself minister of the new mission and Father Crespi as his assistant.

These formalities terminated, officers, padres and men dined on the shore with food provided from the bark and afterwards the salvos of artillery and musketry were repeated. This noise expressed admirably the joy of the Spaniards but frightened the poor Indians into hiding for some time.

Father Crespi and his companions returned that evening to the Carmel camp where they remained till June 5 when after an early Mass they transferred everything to Monterey. The new camp was on the spot being cleared for the presidio and mission. 23

IV

The Infant Mission

(30 Months 1770 - 1772)

The spiritual conquest of Monterey was a minor problem easily solved by kindness and an interpreter. The absence of buildings was likewise of little import. Material was plentiful and the workmen, though few, were willing and capable. The real hurdles were guarantee of supply, understanding between Church and State, and the foundation of the other missions authorized by the viceroy. These matters were important to San Carlos for it soon became evident that its priests would have to settle them before they could go on with their local work. The military leaders proved a stumbling block rather than a help. Father Serra was forced to return to Mexico to solve the difficulties, while Father Crespi had to leave his Indians and make expeditions with the soldiers and sailors lest his religious superior be incorrectly informed about these surveys.

For a couple of generations the Father Minister of San Carlos was obliged to think not only of Carmel souls and bodies but also of the welfare of all California, native and Spanish, lay and religious. Good Fray Junipero was given many a heartache not only by governors and the soldiers but also by some of his own brethren. Not that these latter did evil, but some repented their coming to so hard and distant a field. This world knows few men like Fathers Serra and Crespi whom hardships, sickness, and adversity make only the more determined to stand their ground.

The First Buildings . . .

June 4, 1770, the day after the formal ceremonies, Costansó surveyed a level site directly in front of the bark and about two gunshots from the beach. He had already prepared plans for the church and presidio. Trees were felled, a stockade thrown up, and temporary structures begun. A combination church, warehouse, and clergy residence took form first. Nearby a similar edifice was built for the military personnel and, somewhat removed, a little store-room for the powder. All were made of poles fixed upright in the earth and close together. The openings were filled with twigs and then these walls were plastered with mud inside and out. The roof was flat, slightly inclined, and made likewise of poles and twigs with a generous coating of soil on top to shed the rain. The floor was the earth.

Corpus Christi . . .

The feast of Corpus Christi fell on June 14. The chapel was not finished. It was very windy, too windy for a dignified procession, and there was a shortage of candles so necessary for that feast. But the sailors made a canopy under the warehouse roof with the flags of the various nations. Two boxes containing six processional and three hand lanterns were accidentally discovered in the cargo. Despite the protests of Don Pedro Fages that they did not belong to the mission, Father Serra took possession of them. Don Juan Perez of the *San Antonio* lent tallow candles for the lanterns and, strange to say, the wind vanished. There was no happier man in all the land than Fray Junípero.

The square marked off for the presidio was swept clean and aisles were formed with green branches. The altar was set up with the Gálvez statue on a place above the monstrance stand. To each side of the stand was a hand lantern fitted with a wax candle. The six large silver candlesticks from Loreto, a seventh, and several smaller ones were on the altar and the processional candlesticks were stuck in the ground on each side.

The feast began with the blessing of the incompleated church. High Mass followed and then the traditional procession down the branch-made aisles. Pealing of bells, thunder of cannon, and hymns of praise accompanied. Father Serra carried the monstrance and

after the procession the host was broken and distributed among those who wished to communicate.

On the fifteenth the *cuera* soldier, José Velasquez, and a young sailor volunteered to carry reports on everything to Lower California that it might go thence to the viceroy. They departed on horseback and reached Todos Santos Mission August 2. Thence the message went by courier to Mexico City. The news resulted in Mass, the *Te Deum*, and discharges of firearms at each mission along the route. Portolá's two other messengers, Perez and Costansó, who sailed on the *San Antonio*, were in the capital before the couriers. It was their report which set off in Mexico City and throughout New Spain similar demonstrations of thanksgiving and joy.

It seems that the voyage from San Diego had been fraught with some peril. Perez vowed to the Blessed Virgin that should it go well he would give twenty-five pesos for a high Mass at Monterey. This was said *Coram Sanctissimo* on St. John's Day. The lanterns were put in place and all was as on Corpus Christi except that large paintings of Saints Carlos, Buenaventura, and Diego, found the day before on the frigate, were blessed and arranged about the image of Our Lady. A second Mass followed on the frigate and then a banquet was served. There is some reason to believe that the priests' living quarters were not ready for occupancy till the eve of St. John's Day and that meanwhile they slept on the frigate. It had not been Father Serra's intention for the religious to live at the presidio. This was forced upon them by the fact that the troops were not sufficient in number to guard two sites. 24

The San Antonio Departs . . .

June 29, feast of Saints Peter and Paul, a farewell high Mass was sung in honor of Our Lady's image and the same on July 9, the day on which the *San Antonio* actually left the port carrying back to Gálvez his statue of the Blessed Virgin and to San Diego the painting of that saint.

In accord with previous orders from Gálvez, Portolá turned over to Fages the command of Upper California and departed aboard the *San Antonio*. The date of this transfer is not recorded but it was apparently before June 13, the day the lieutenant forbade the delivery of the lanterns. Monterey's next contact with the out-

side world would be upon the vessel's return May 21, 1771.

There remained at the port two priests, Lieutenant Fages, Surgeon Prat, twelve Catalonian Volunteers, six *cuera* soldiers, five sick sailors, seven Lower California Indians, two muleteers, and one mechanic. Thus the city of Monterey was projected into history with a population of thirty-seven, all men.

There went on the *San Antonio* a letter from Father Serra to the viceroy. It presupposes that the good padre had been studying the lay of the land for he requested permit to move the mission from Monterey to Carmel Valley. He cited as reasons the scarcity of fertile land and of water for irrigation at Monterey. Commentators are justified in suspecting another reason: his desire to have his neophytes removed from the bad influence of the soldiers. 25

Deaths . . .

The little community was not idle during its exile. There were five very sick men under the care of Don Pedro Prat. He could not save them. The first of their number died and was buried July 26, 1770. He was Ignacio Ramírez, a slave because his mother had been one. His master, Don Gabriel de Zespedes of Querétaro, had left him free to buy his liberty, and as cook on the *San Antonio* he had saved enough to do so. The poor fellow departed for eternity with the price of freedom in his hands. The others followed in quick succession and by September 20 the fifth had gone to his reward.

All received the three last sacraments and were buried in a cemetery which undoubtedly had been blessed July 26, the day of the first burial. Its location is not recorded. 26

Further Building . . .

The accommodations for presidio and mission were by no means completed when the *San Antonio* sailed. The plan called for a square about 200' x 200', outside measurements, with a plaza about 160' x 160', thus leaving a space twenty feet deep on the four sides for buildings. By the middle of November the square was enclosed so well that Fages had no fear for the security of the inmates. Building operations may have gone on most of the year. June 20, 1771, the lieutenant sent a plat of the layout to the viceroy and gives the impression that all was complete except for a new church. He adds that all buildings were whitewashed inside and out and that there

had been built at the powder magazine a house for its guard and at the garden a place for its caretaker. 27

San Francisco Sought . . .

Father Serra was very anxious to have a foundation in honor of St. Francis. Portolá's scouts had seen an inland body of water which seemed to connect with the *San Francisco Bay* of Cermeño. On one of these shores the beloved St. Francis was to have his mission. Hence, commentators, even in the absence of documents, feel that the Franciscan Serra was urging Don Pedro to go in search of the water seen in 1769. Be this as it may, Fages with six soldiers and one muleteer did leave Monterey November 21, 1770. They headed northwestward, crossed Santa Clara Valley, and reached the site where Alameda now stands. They returned to Monterey December 4. The information gained was valules to the Father President. 28

Agriculture . . .

In the *Diary* of this 1770 trip, Fages says he did not want to lose time at San Francisco as he was anxious to get back to Monterey and look after the cultivation of land and the raising of stock. He reported to the viceroy that in the very first year the presidio set out crops. It had under cultivation about four acres in three plots. These were a mile or so east of Monterey. One plot was irrigated. Wheat, barley, beans, and rice were sowed. On November 10, 1770 a heavy frost ruined some bean, tomato and other plants.

Fages says that the reverend fathers also "attempted to cultivate the soil in the best way possible and the situation was improved when the mission moved to" Carmel. In the frost of November 10, the padres lost ten beds of tomato plants. Although this should mean that the first trial at mission produce was at Monterey in 1770, Father Serra points out they did not sow anything till the winter of 1772. This effort then was purely experimental and apparently extended only to garden plants. 29

Prospective Neophytes . . .

The Monterey Indians were more timid than others and the noisy demonstrations of June 3 and 14 would not have allayed their fears. The degree of their caution is evidenced by the fact that over six months passed before any parent had sufficient trust and knowl-

edge to present a child for baptism. This ceremony first took place December 26, 1770. On that day a native of the lower Carmel Valley, aged five years, was presented *con mucho gusto* by his parents. Father Serra christened him Bernardino de Jesús, and Lieutenant Fages was the sponsor. Next day two other small boys were baptized, so the year ended with three native Christians.

There has been some disagreement as to whether the first mission baptisms were at Monterey or at San Diego. In the confirmation record Father Serra writes: "Bernardino de Jesús Fages (is) the first Christian among the natives of this Upper California."

It should be remembered, of course, that a parent must have some idea of the significance of baptism before the Church can christen a youngster who has a fair chance of reaching maturity. In mission days such implications went even further than with us. In civilization a non-Catholic parent may have his child baptized if he gives assurance that he can and will raise it a Catholic, but the Indians had to realize that the child could be raised a Christian only under the immediate supervision of the Church. This meant that the family would have to live at the mission or at least leave the child with the fathers when it reached the age of reason. Indians were considered to attain this age when about nine years old.

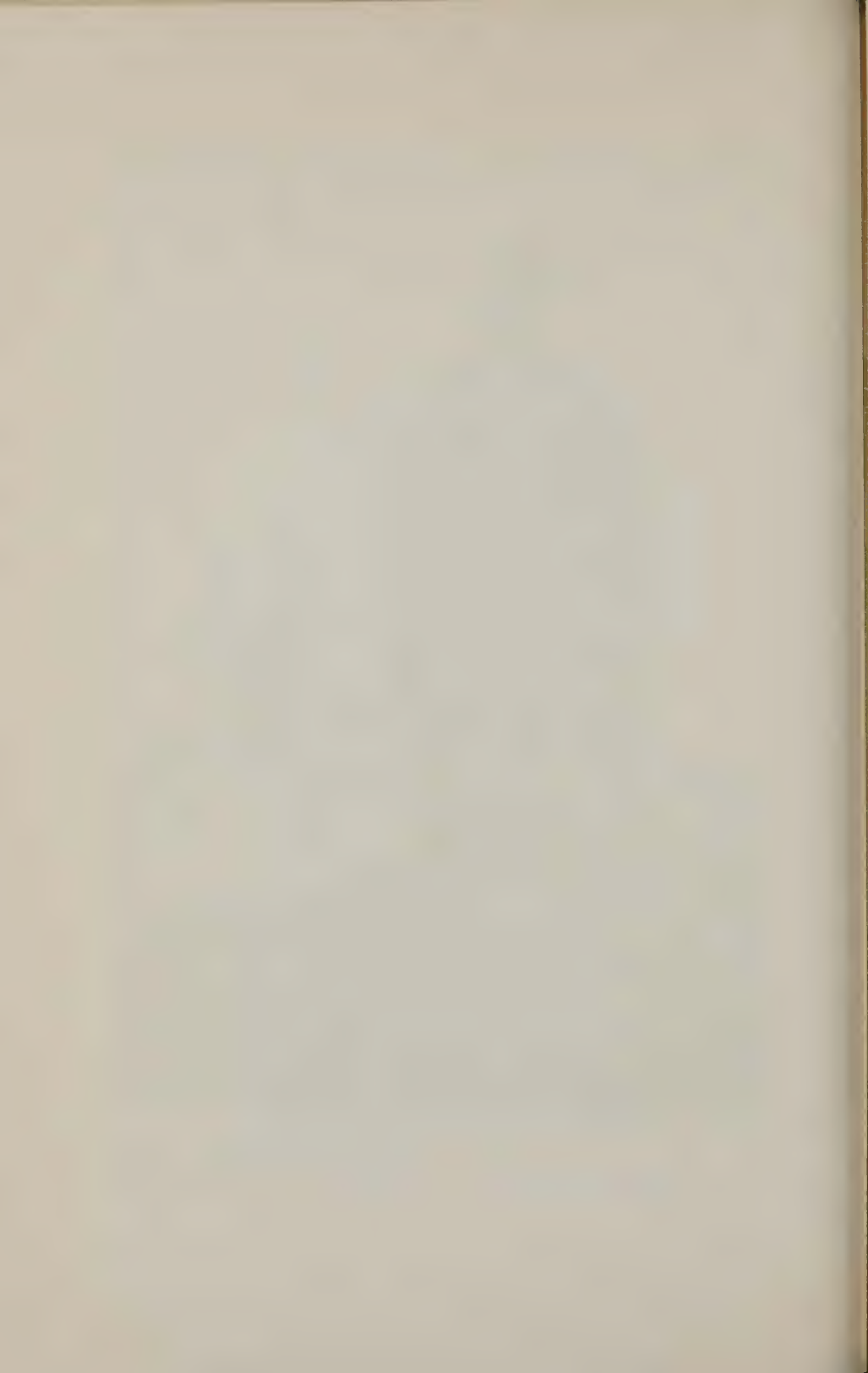
Such a condition required not only trust on the part of the native but made a common medium of speech absolutely necessary, for such ideas are not conveyed by signs. Adults could not be baptized till they knew the basic truths of the religion and then would not be christened unless the priests felt sure of their continuance as Christians. Hence, even adults had to separate themselves from the pagan community and join the Christian till they were firm in the faith. Most Monterey neophytes proved incapable of a Christian life away from the mission and so lived and died there.

The Franciscans had a threefold solution for the language problem. Lower Californians would mingle with natives, eventually marry native women, and in some instances take up permanent residence in a *gentile* nation. These men served as interpreters and probably also as catechists. They would certainly instruct sick gentiles and even baptize them if death were imminent. Then the padres themselves tried to pick up Indian words and phrases. Only Fathers Palou and Sarriá seem to have made real progress in such



FEMALE INDIAN COSTUME

La Pérouse Expedition Sketch
CARMEL 1786



efforts. The best solution was found only when the young Carmel neophytes began to speak Castilian. Fortunately this was soon. A lad from Lower California was the first to learn enough of the Carmel tongue to explain the padres' objectives. 30

Neophytes at Monterey . . .

In the eighteen months that the mission was at Monterey seventeen children were presented by their parents for baptism as is carefully noted in each record. Besides there were six between the ages of nine and sixteen who received the sacrament. Being over the age of reason these had to submit to instruction prior to baptism. The first adult thus received into the Church was Ana María, aged fifteen. She was not considered a volunteer, nor were the others, as all were under parental control. The first volunteer was Catalina María, aged nineteen, an orphan. She was baptized at Carmel October 27, 1772. The first to receive the sacrament at Carmel was a seven year old San Antonio youngster. His parents had permitted the missionaries to send him to Monterey because he gave promise of ability. One of the children who was very sick at the time of baptism died and was buried in the church with considerable ceremony.

There is no record of the establishment of a Christian Indian village at the Monterey site but *Rancheria de la Huerta Vieja de Monterey* is mentioned. Father Palou speaks of young Christian Indians going over from Monterey to visit Father Serra when he was building Carmel; also of Indians being under the instruction of Father Crespi at the presidio and of the food to be prepared for these individuals. This makes it likely that a few families had thrown up their *rucs*, or huts, at a spot called by the Spaniards, *Huerta Vieja*. Twice daily some adults were going into the stockade for instruction.

This village would not have been large. Those baptized at Monterey came from not more than seventeen families but the children of only five were old enough for instruction. In the 1771 plat of the presidio there is shown outside the south wall a house for gentile women and a hospice for new Christians. Inside the stockade there is a house for visiting male gentiles. The fathers of eight children were dead, both parents of five others, and the mother of one. Since the widower, four of the widows, and two sets of parents be-

came Christians within a couple of years, it must have been this group that dwelt behind the presidio. The widows probably resided in the special house built there.

One or other Indian family saw fit to remain at Monterey after the transfer of the mission but they were pagans. The Huerta Vieja Rancheria or, what is likely the same, the Monterey Rancheria, is noted in the records till 1774.

The first converts were from Carmel Valley and residents of the *rancherías* Tucutnut and Ichxenta. Apart from the fact that the Carmeleños were nearest the new establishment they were the weakest of the Monterey nations and no doubt realized that the kindly strangers were a good protection. Their chief at the time was Tatlun of Ichxenta and Father Serra found him most friendly from the beginning. This good will on the part of Tatlun and his people expressed itself at first in a purely material way. The men often brought food to the mission. This usually consisted of two or three deer or antelope; nor did they ask or expect anything in return.

31

The San Antonio Returns . . .

May 21, 1771, Don Juan José Perez brought the *San Antonio* to its second anchorage in Monterey Bay. The joy of all may be well imagined but that of Father Serra was unbounded. There were aboard an abundance of provisions, complete equipment for five new missions, and ten friars from the College of San Fernando. Besides this very tangible proof of the good will of the viceroy there were letters to Fages and to Father Serra authorizing the transfer of San Carlos to Carmel and the foundation of the new missions; also, the information that the soldiers who came from Loreto were at Fages' disposal and that twelve Catalonian Volunteers had been ordered up from Guaymas. This would make possible an adequate guard at each settlement. Of course, all was not to become realized so easily as was then supposed, but ignorance of the future left the present joy unmitigated.

The feast of Corpus Christi occurred May 30 while the *San Antonio* was anchored in the bay. Padre Junípero started the *fiesta* with a solemn high Mass. The three priests may have been vested in the magnificent chasuble and dalmatics which had just arrived

as a gift from Viceroy de Croix for Father Serra's own mission. The other nine religious were robed in rich chasubles destined for future missions. There was a sermon and all joined in the procession of the Blessed Sacrament. This was Monterey's first solemn high Mass and, so far as records go, there has not been since a more elaborate celebration of the great feast.

After Mass the venerable Father President announced the destination of the various missionaries. For the moment he retained at Monterey Fathers Pieras and Sitjar destined for Mission San Antonio and Fathers Cavaller and Juncosa in reserve for San Luis Obispo. He directed the rest to return to San Diego on the *San Antonio* as the other missions would be founded out of that port.

The vessel brought a number of workmen. At least six sailors took advantage of their permit to serve in the new establishments and two mechanics arrived at the same time. The mechanic who had stayed behind in 1770 disappears from the records. Thus the net population was increased to a total of forty-two, still all men.

El Príncipe left Monterey July 7. Don Pedro Fages was aboard. He had just been promoted to the rank of captain. He went as far as San Diego where he was to distribute the troops and cattle and be present at the founding of the new southern missions. Don Pedro Prat, who had gone insane towards the beginning of 1771, was removed on this bark and died soon afterwards at Guadaluajara. 32

Carmel and San Antonio Started . . .

Father Junípero was not given to delaying his projects. By July 9 he was already in Carmel Valley selecting the new San Carlos site. The spot chosen is that still in use. Three sailors, four Lower Californians, and five soldiers under the supervision of Corporal Mariano Carrillo were left there to fell and assemble timber for the stockade and buildings.

The Father President returned to Monterey and by July 12 or 13 he was on his way to found San Antonio Mission. In the troop went Fathers Pieras and Sitjar, six soldiers under Corporal Miguel Sobrevia Periques, three sailors and two or three Lower Californians. Father Serra remained at San Antonio fifteen days to see that things got a good start. He was back in Monterey August 1.

With eleven soldiers at the two missions Sergeant Puig retained but five at the presidio; hence, San Luis Obispo could not be founded without abandoning Monterey. Father Serra put this third mission out of mind for the moment and went over to Carmel to hasten the building program and attract natives to the new site. Father Crespi was to keep things going at the old stand. Fathers Juncosa and Cavaller cared for the needs of the garrison. Father Crespi had been instructed to receive no new catechumens but to be kind to all applicants and send them to Carmel.

The Father President found that the soldiers had been helping the laborers and that sufficient timber was ready to make a start. His first act was to have hewed out a cross as large as a modern telegraph pole. This was blessed and raised in the center of the quadrangle. This act was performed on the feast of St. Bartholomew, August 24. Carmel's first Mass followed at once and was said under an arbor. Nearby they made a little hut for Father Serra. The rest of the work proceeded leisurely for the laborers were few and there was no need to hurry. A provisional church next took form; added to it was a four room dwelling for the priests and a granary. This building was about 20' x 140'. There went up a dwelling for the servants with its kitchen and in the corner of the quadrangle the guardroom. There must also have been a warehouse. The whole was surrounded by a stockade with ravelins at the corners. This was made of long, rough logs fixed in the ground and enclosed a space about 130' x 200'. Though its gates were well locked it could not be made strong for want of nails. Nearby and within sight was a corral for the mules and cattle. All buildings were of poles fixed in the ground, mud plastered inside and out, with flat, mud-covered roofs. Some of the rooms were whitewashed. Fages says that good cypress and cedar timber was used. The stockade and some of the buildings noted were erected in 1772 when the failure of the barks to arrive prevented the padres from engaging in the spiritual conquest.

December 9, Fages stood sponsor for an Indian boy at Carmel. This was likely on the occasion of his visit to Padre Serra after his return from the south. On Christmas Eve at the vesper hour, Carmel Mission was in fact activated, for at that time all personnel arrived from Monterey: two priests, four soldiers, one muleteer, and

three servants. February 29, 1772, the Carmel cemetery was blessed and the first interment made.

All Christian Indians and every bit of mission goods were transferred from Monterey. Father Crespi went with the neophytes but Fathers Juncosa and Cavaller remained at the presidio. They were thus the first priests to have exclusive care of the church for the Spaniards at Monterey. Henceforth the abandoned mission chapel became the Church of the Royal Presidio with San José continuing its patron. The title San Carlos, however, was revived in early American times and is used exclusively today. The new establishment at Carmel had the same patrons, San Carlos for the mission district, but San José for the church of the mission.

While work progressed on the Carmel buildings Father Serra was kept busy as overseer and sometimes as a common laborer. He had his Mass and breviary and there were devotions for the soldiers and workmen. Nearly every day gentiles came to see him. They were attracted by his presents and their own curiosity. Often he would feed them a porridge made of wheat or corn. By these visits he is said to have been learning the native language. The visitors were taught the sign of the cross and to salute the Spaniards with the words *Amar á Dios* (Love God). This salutation became the ordinary one when even pagan Indians saluted Spaniards.

Father Serra was much pleased with the soldiers of his guard who indeed must have been fine, devout men. He later complained when Fages exchanged them for others, presumably for some of the lads who had come up from San Diego in December, 1771. 33

Fages Returns . . .

Meanwhile Captain Fages had finished his work in San Diego and set out toward Monterey with priests, equipment, cattle, and soldiers intending to found and stock the missions of San Gabriel and Santa Buenaventura. San Gabriel was founded but because of an Indian attack Fages feared to leave a small guard. Hence everything, priests, equipment, guard, and cattle for Santa Buenaventura was left at San Gabriel. A garrison of sixteen instead of eight was thus created and the commander set out for the north with his twelve new Volunteer and eight new *cuera* soldiers. These included the one whose crime, then unknown to Fages, had caused the San

Gabriel trouble. He reached the presidio on or before December 9, 1771. 34

Ranch and Farm . . .

It seems to have been customary for the assistant missionary to take charge of agriculture and stock raising. At Monterey Father Crespi cared for this most essential phase of early church life on the peninsula. He kept a careful record of his activities but for the years 1776-1782 it was in notes unintelligible to his successor. Prior to 1775 the records were legibly transcribed into the mission *Inventory Book*.

There had reached Monterey the few horses and mules of the 1770 land expedition. Some of them belonged to the mission but Fages kept them under his control till February, 1773. Some pigs and chickens were the only edible tame meat in the infant colony when Father Serra started his work in Carmel Valley. These animals had come on the bark in either 1770 or 1771. A boar and a sow with four pigs were driven over to Carmel from the presidio in August, 1771, just as work was beginning there. So far as records go these were the ancestors of all future mission "pork."

Each mission was entitled to a bull and seventeen cows at its inception, but Carmel's first cattle belonged to the herd driven from San Diego some eighteen months after the foundation. December 13, 1771, the captain drove into the mission corral one bull, nine cows with calf, two young heifers, six heifer calves (the eighteen furnished by the king), and one young bull sent as a gift from the San Diego fathers. These animals were ancestors of the great herds that roamed the mission lands in the early 1800's.

Fages had brought up other cattle for the presidio and thirty-six head destined for the projected missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara. Father Serra insisted that these mission cattle be cared for by the padres, but the commander refused to turn them over and kept them that their milk might serve the soldiers. Later on some of their offspring ended up in the presidio pots. In fact Carmel should have got a bull, seventeen cows, and the offspring of the same born during the preceding eighteen months. The father hints that the military kept for itself the equal of eighteen months' increase.

No attempt was made to plant grain in the winter of 1771-

1772. This may have been partly for lack of equipment or draft animals, for Father Crespi noted that even in the winter of 1772-1773 they were forced to plant in poorly prepared land. The chief reason, however, was their failure to draw water from the Carmel River for irrigation. They had been assured by men skilled in agriculture that this would be an easy matter, but when these men were asked to be practical no results were visible.

There is mention of a vegetable garden in connection with the famine of 1772, but speaking of it later Father Serra says that for want of a gardener it did not amount to much. 35

Population . . .

As 1771 drew to a close the foreign population of northern California reached a minimum of sixty, still all men: Monterey, thirty-one; Carmel, fifteen; San Antonio, fourteen. There were at Carmel twenty-two Christian natives, one of whom was from San Antonio.

Famine in San Diego and Carmel . . .

Father Serra's solicitude for the California Church as a whole and lack of both Mexican supplies and local crops made it impossible to begin real work among the Indians even now that the mission had been transferred. In his conference with Fages the immediate establishment of San Luis Obispo had been ruled out. Both seemed to agree that in the light of the San Gabriel affair larger mission guards were necessary. On the other hand, both further agreed that a site for an establishment on San Francisco Bay should be sought.

March 20, 1771, Captain Fages and Father Crespi with twelve soldiers, a muleteer, and a Lower California Indian set out for the northern bay. Five days later a messenger arrived from San Diego with the bad news that supplies there were nearly exhausted, that San Gabriel did not have any to spare, and that Father Dumetz had been forced to go to Lower California for aid. So serious was the situation that there was talk of abandoning the mission unless help arrived.

The Father President at once dispatched a courier who encountered Fages near San Francisco Bay. The captain started back March 31 and reached Monterey April 5. By the thirteenth, Father

Crespi and a guard of soldiers were on their way to San Diego with a pack train carrying twenty-four hundred pounds of flour.

This generosity of Father Serra left a shortage at his own mission, and as the supply ship did not show up, want soon made itself felt. By August the Christians were living on milk, some vegetables from the garden, and wild food brought in by the gentiles. Meanwhile Fages and most of the soldiers went on a bear hunt to the San Luis Obispo region. They left the end of May and returned in August. The chase was very successful and they were able to barter with the natives for seed. Besides sustaining themselves they sent up to San Carlos and San Antonio on different occasions twenty-five loads of jerked bear meat and seeds. Father Pieras also sent to Carmel four loads of seeds harvested by the San Antonio natives. 36

Father Serra Departs . . .

In mid-August word came that the *San Antonio* and *San Carlos* had arrived at San Diego and that adverse weather prevented them from going on to Monterey. This meant that supplies would have to come overland and unfortunately the pack animals were few and in no condition for such a trip. Both Captain Fages and Father Serra determined to go to the southern port. Accordingly Fray Miguel Pieras was transferred from San Antonio to Carmel, and Fray Domingo Juncosa of the presidio became his assistant.

On St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, the captain and president started south. They stopped at San Antonio for Father Cavaller and went on to San Luis Obispo where the latter was installed as missionary September 1, 1772. There remained with him a corporal, four soldiers, and two Lower Californians. At San Diego they were able to persuade Captain Perez to take his ship to Monterey. He departed September 27 and came to the northern port without difficulty. Meanwhile a few supplies were sent overland by the pack mules in charge of Fathers Crespi and Dumetz. They too left San Diego September 27.

In an argument with Fages about founding Santa Buenaventura, Father Serra came to realize that if the California missions were to succeed the respective rights of the Church and Military had to be defined. Furthermore the difficulty of starting agriculture in the missions and the delay in the arrival of the vessels made it

evident that there was a supply problem to settle once and for all. Accordingly, after consultation with some of his fellow missionaries, he set off for Mexico City to see the viceroy. He took with him Juan Evangelista José, aged thirteen, a convert native of Carmel Valley. This trip was to be well worth its misery for the future of the California Church. Father Serra left San Diego aboard the *San Carlos* October 20, 1772, and was not to return to his beloved Carmel till May 11, 1774.

37

The Year's Results . . .

These disturbances in Carmel's sacerdotal personnel and especially the famine made 1772 a loss as far as the spiritual conquest was concerned. The padres could not christen Indians and then let them run wild. There were only eight baptisms. Three were persons in danger of death; a fourth, the first voluntary convert already mentioned, and the rest, children of parents who hung around the new establishment so much that the soldiers had given them nicknames. On the other hand, there were only two deaths and the first two weddings were performed. November 10, 1772, Fernando married Catalina María, and Cipriano Riera, a Lower Californian, married María Antonia.

It seems certain that Rancheria Achasta, located near if not at Carmel church, was set up only after the mission had been moved to its new site. The inhabitants came from Tucutnut, Ichxenta, and Socorronda. This new place furnished many of Carmel's converts; its name was the first used to designate the Carmeleños and eventually its Christian title, San Carlos, passed to the *rancheria* at the mission.

Fages got back to Monterey shortly before Christmas. Fathers Crespi and Dumetz may have arrived with him. The latter became the former's assistant and Fathers Pieras and Juncosa returned to their own missions. All was now fairly well set to begin the spiritual conquest in earnest.

38

V

Real Missionary Work Begins

(3 Years 1773 - 1775)

We may consider Carmel's spiritual conquest to have begun in 1773. Before this year Indian conversions were relatively few. The triennium, 1773-1775, was as eventful as any in the religious history of Monterey. The spiritual results were surpassed in only one other period of equal length. Both farm and ranch got a good start though famine reigned for eight months. The missionaries spread their influence to the Excelen Indians. Father Palou arrived after handing over Lower California to the Dominicans, and the Father President returned from his Mexican trip. Anza opened an all-land route from Mexico City to Monterey and the first white women reached Upper California.

New Christians . . .

Despite famine, clergy changes, and other interruptions, a good foundation must have been laid in 1772. The next year found Fathers Crespi and Dumetz free to pursue their spiritual labor. Even though a shortage of provisions made itself felt toward winter, only three other years in the whole mission period surpassed '73 in the number of baptisms and only one year produced more adult converts.

Some persons must have been preparing in '72, for baptisms began already in January. In the twelve months there were christened one hundred and thirty-four persons, all from Carmel Valley; seventy-six were over fourteen years of age. Only two neophytes died. On May 12 the first child of Christian parentage was born: Francisco María, son of the first couple married by the padres.

Two Lower Californians who had come up in 1770 took wives from among the new Christians. Three Catalonian Volunteers and one Mexican mission servant did likewise. Nine young native couples married, and fifteen others, who were already wed as gentiles, had their unions blessed. Hence 1773 ended with twenty-eight Christian Indian and four mixed families.

The offspring of these mixed marriages are referred to as *mestizos* but would be numbered among the *gente de razón*, or non-Indians, and would be considered in all their rights and duties the equals of Spaniards and Mexicans. The mothers, too, at marriage were made participants of the privileges of their husbands even to the point of being reckoned *gente de razón*. As widows their status did not change. The padres were most careful to see to it that Indian women did not marry white men of bad character. Both marriage and concubinage between pagan and Christian, irrespective of race, were out of the question. Children of Lower California men were listed among the neophytes. 39

Farm and Herds . . .

The summer of '73 came without bringing the supply ship. Neither Carmel nor Monterey was anything like self-supporting. The presidio had some cattle and the stock belonging to the projected northern missions. No doubt there had been some planting but certainly no more than was necessary for its own personnel. In December,

'72, Father Crespi had sown about five bushels of wheat and a bit of barley in the field called San José. Early in '73 he planted a few pecks of beans and corn in the field called San Carlos. The land in both cases was but poorly spaded as they were not yet able to plow. July 5 there fell a frost which ruined the beans and half the corn. The rest yielded about fifteen bushels.

In January, '73, the mission branded eleven calves and castrated eight, leaving one for breeding purposes. For the Feast of St. Francis they slaughtered the old bull from San Diego. This is the first recorded occasion on which the padres ate fresh beef in their new home, or on which it was tasted by the neophytes. The year ended with forty-two head of cattle and twenty-eight pigs.

The fathers could not slaughter the livestock for it would not be replaced. The grain was but a drop in the bucket with so many mouths to feed, and furthermore it had to be saved for seed since no boat was expected now before the late spring of '74. There were a few steers but these were kept as a last resort. Between September and January nine pigs were slaughtered. Thus with famine before them the padres had no alternative but to send their neophytes off to forage for themselves.

February 15, 1773, Fages sent fourteen mules to the mission and good Father Crespi must have been very delighted to recognize among them *Sonoriña*, the old, brown beast that had carried him from Loreto to Monterey. There came at the same time one stallion, four breeding mares, three of them with foal, six work horses, and one *burra*. One of the Father President's complaints against Fages had been that he kept refusing to give the mission its mules and was using them for the soldiers. 40

Father Palou Arrives . . .

In September of this same eventful '73 word came from Fray Francisco Palou that the Baja California missions had been turned over to the Dominicans and that he and five companions were en route to San Diego. His letter also said that the *San Carlos* had been damaged in the Gulf of California and forced to unload the Alta California supplies at Escondido. The governor had sent some grain to San Lucas Bay whence Father Palou had brought it to Vellicatá and thence was transporting it to San Diego. It was far from enough

to end the famine. Orders also came that were the *San Antonio* to arrive at either California port it was to divide its cargo between the two. The governor apparently doubted that this vessel was on its way, for he told Fages to collect all the pack mules he could and send them to Vellicatá where the grain and also certain bundles belonging to the California padres were awaiting transport. The captain lost no time. The pack train, growing as it went, reached San Diego September 19, and by the twenty-second was already headed for Vellicatá.

Immediately upon arrival at San Diego Father Palou replaced Fray Antonio Paterna as acting mission president. September 26 the new temporary president set out for Monterey. Fages went as far as San Luis Obispo to meet him and both, accompanied by Father Juncosa, arrived in Monterey November 13, 1773. Father Crespi went from Carmel and encountered the group about a league from the port. Fray Francisco and he had been classmates all through school and it had been five years since they had seen each other. Their meeting was one which only Latins can stage.

The party reached the presidio at ten a.m., and rested that day and night. Next morning Father Palou sang Mass and preached. In the afternoon he and Father Juncosa with several *cuera* and Catalonian soldiers went over to the mission, where amid great joy they were welcomed by Father Dumetz and the Indians.

Father Palou decided to make Carmel his headquarters till Father Serra should return from Mexico. Father Juncosa lived there too until a boat came on which he could return to the College of San Fernando. This priest had found it impossible to adjust himself to life in California and kept begging to be sent home.

Internal evidence in the *Noticias de la California* would indicate that Father Palou worked on this history while he was a supernumerary at Monterey. He certainly spent some time on the language spoken in Carmel Valley, for in the *Diary* of his first trip to San Francisco he says that he used this language to converse with Indians encountered on the way. He also worked in the mission garden which till then had done poorly for want of a gardener. Under his industrious and intelligent care it became a spot of beauty with its border of gillyflowers, as well as a forerunner of the modern Salinas Valley farms, with its neat rows of magnificent lettuce and

artichokes. Good Fray Francisco used to spend whole days at this toil. 41

New Churches . . .

Father Palou found the Carmel priests putting up a new church. Father Serra's mud-roofed building would not keep out the heavy rains. The new place was built of logs and planks with a tule-thatched, gable roof. It was about 110' long and proportionately wide. One may presume that it was dedicated, as planned, on Christmas Eve, 1773.

The same problem must have existed at Monterey, for Fages' 1771 plat indicates that a site at least had been chosen for a new church. When Father Palou made his report in December, '73, he locates the Monterey church at the new site and says that it is of adobe but that the roof is still flat and mud-covered. This second structure was in service when Father Font visited in 1776. 42

Famine . . .

The famine grew worse as the early months of 1774 went by; hence, work among the natives was negligible. By April 1 the last of the mission flour had been consumed and for the next thirty-seven days the padres lived on a scant ration of gruel made from ground chick-peas, beans, and milk, to which an occasional sardine was added. In the mornings they had coffee instead of chocolate. They did not mind the famine nearly as much as they did the absence of snuff, which seems to have run out already in November, '73. 43

Anza's First Entrada . . .

April 18, 1774, Don Juan Bautista de Anza reached Monterey. He had with him Fray Juan Díaz of the Querétaro Franciscans, twenty Sonora soldiers, and two San Gabriel Mission guards. That day the dream of Father Eusebio Kino was realized, for Anza had come by land from the missions of Sonora to Vizcaíno's port. Father Palou paid Anza a visit and invited him to the mission. He went on the twentieth, stayed overnight, and assisted next morning at a Mass of thanksgiving for his safe and successful journey. On the twenty-second he left to retrace his march. Six Monterey soldiers accompanied him that they might learn the road as far as the Colorado

River. It was believed that the route might come in handy for the mail.

44

Supplies and Father Serra Arrive . . .

Meanwhile, Father Serra reached San Diego. At San Blas he had boarded the *Santiago*, alias *La Nueva Galicia*, which replaced the *San Carlos* as sister ship of the *San Antonio*. It left its home port for Monterey January 24, 1774. The *San Antonio* departed later with the supplies for San Diego. The wind was contrary so the *Santiago* was forced to port at San Diego March 13. The Father President determined to go thence by land. His priest companion on the voyage, Fray Pablo Mugártegui, was too ill to go on to Monterey, so Fray Gregorio Amurrio of San Diego was sent as chaplain of the bark. Juan Evangelista returned with his spiritual father.

April 6 the frigate left as did Father Serra's land party. May 9 the vessel anchored in the port of Monterey to the great joy and relief of everyone. All the scattered Indian flock returned and spiritual work was resumed. Father Serra notes that the neophytes came back somewhat "the worse for the wear" but able to give an account of their doings while in the wilds.

Fray Junípero passed from mission to mission. He had the joy of encountering Anza on the way. At San Antonio he was joined by Fray José Murguía. They reached the presidio May 11. His success in Mexico and his good appearance, despite the long journey, brought joy to his confreres.

Of course, no time was lost in unloading the supply ship. There was a fine cargo, even if some of it had to be left to help out for the moment at San Diego and San Gabriel. Besides the ordinary consignment from San Fernando College, there was an abundance of provisions made as a special gift from the viceroy to the missions: corn, beans, flour, hams, dry goods, beads, etc. So much was there that this supply guaranteed the future of the California missions.

The First Women and the News . . .

But of still greater importance was the human cargo and the news. On this frigate came Alta California's first white women; apparently seven in number, four matrons, and three maidens; also, a physician, three smiths, three carpenters, and a warehouse keeper. Six

members of the fair sex remained in Monterey; the seventh returned to San Diego.

The most important news was that, as of January 1, 1774, the civil and military governments of both Californias had been reorganized and Monterey made the residence of a captain commander with jurisdiction over the territory covered by the Franciscan missions. He was to send reports to the governor of the Californias who was to reside at Loreto. The new arrangement called for one captain commander, one sergeant, twenty-two soldiers, two carpenters, two smiths, four muleteers, and one warehouse keeper at Monterey, and at Carmel a guard consisting of a corporal and five soldiers. The carpenters were to serve both the presidio and the missions in the north. Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada was appointed captain commander and Don Juan Soler storehouse keeper.

Recruits from Sonora . . .

The new commander had received orders from the viceroy to recruit some soldiers and their families in Sinaloa and take them with him to Monterey. He got together fifty-one persons of whom nineteen were soldiers and one a muleteer. There were several women and children in the party. Father Serra had strongly urged the coming of Spanish and Mexican women to California. The Indians thought it strange that only men were there and common sense taught that without women of their own nation the soldiers could never be managed.

Rivera and his recruits landed at Loreto in mid-March but he did not have supplies enough to bring the group overland to Monterey. A message was sent to Lieutenant José Francisco Ortega telling him to take his family to Vellicatá, meet there the recruits, and await with them provisions that would be sent down from Monterey. Captain Rivera then set out for the north, probably with not more than five or six soldiers. He reached Monterey May 23 at the hour when they were singing Mass aboard the *Santiago* in thanksgiving for its safe arrival. He assisted at the Mass and next day took over the command from Don Pedro Fages.

Father Crespi Goes North . . .

While Fages was getting the inventories and other matters straightened out in preparation for his departure and at the same time in-

terchanging a few formal and unpleasant notes with Rivera, Don Juan Perez was trimming the *Santiago* and checking her provisions, for she had come also to explore the coast as far as 60° and take possession thereof in the name of His Majesty, Carlos III of Spain.

The Father President, ever zealous to spread the faith and the domains of his king, assigned his choice missionary, Fray Juan Crespi, as chaplain for the northern adventure and had Fray Tomás de la Peña y Saravia come up from San Luis Obispo to accompany Father Crespi on the voyage. Costán, the surgeon of the expedition, remained at Monterey while Dávila, the presidio physician, went north with the vessels.

Perez determined to sail June 7. So on the afternoon of the sixth Father Serra and the two chaplains came over to the presidio where they found Fathers Palou and Murguia confessing the crew. The travelers bade them farewell and took their leave of Father Serra at the beach. But the winds were contrary. On the eighth they were still unfavorable. Meanwhile, the boatswain fell seriously ill. On the afternoon of the same day they espied a sail. It turned out to be the *San Antonio*. She had come directly from San Blas without a stop at San Diego, the first vessel ever to enter Monterey Bay on a direct run from its home port. At three in the afternoon she anchored beside the *Santiago*.

The winds were still unfavorable, and besides Captain Perez determined to take on supplies from the *San Antonio* and exchange some sailors who were not too well. The two chaplains went on shore again the morning of the ninth for a visit with the Carmel padres but returned to dine on the frigate. Perez asked them to have a Mass on shore next morning in honor of Our Lady that the trip might be successful. An arbor was built by the Vizcaíno oak and the Father President sang Mass. Fathers Murguia, Dumetz, Crespi, and Peña were the choir. Afterwards the priests and the officers of both barks and of the presidio had lunch on the beach. At four the voyagers returned to the ship where they found that the boatswain had died. His body was sent ashore and buried the next day in the presidio chapel.

On the eleventh the launches of both barks towed the *Santiago* toward the green growth on the point. A little before noon she set sail with a north wind.

Fages and Father Juncosa Leave . . .

The *San Antonio* discharged a part of its cargo for the northern establishments, presumably enough to compensate for what the *Santiago* had left at San Diego, and was detained waiting for Fages to close his business. Don Pedro, however, changed his mind about going on the vessel, so she set sail July 7. There departed on her half the Catalonian Volunteers and Fathers Juncosa and Ussón. This latter priest had been unwell in San Luis Obispo and San Antonio, so Father Serra permitted him to return to Mexico. A third padre left on the same ship from San Diego, hence, there remained in California seventeen Franciscans, enough extra ones for three new missions.

July 19 Fages set out with two Volunteers overland to San Diego, leaving ten of his company behind till additional *cuera* soldiers should arrive. Since the names of five of these disappear from the mission registers even before October, one presumes that they joined Fages at San Diego prior to that date. Fages and all but five of his Catalonian Volunteers sailed from San Diego in October aboard the *San Antonio*. The five who remained had married Indian women and transferred to the *cuera*. 46

San Francisco's Cattle . . .

July 6, 1774, Father Palou received, by the overland mail, the viceroy's acknowledgment of the 1773 report. This letter expressed the desire that the port of San Francisco be occupied. The very next day Father Serra was to see the new commander with the suggestion that a survey be made for a mission to honor St. Francis. Rivera, however, put him off saying that just then he had neither the troops nor the arms.

The cattle for this foundation, and also for that of Santa Clara, were already in Monterey, and the Father President apparently reminded the commander on this same occasion that these ought to be turned over to San Carlos till the two missions should be founded. Rivera's answer is not known, but the padres were agreeably surprised a couple of days later when the herds arrived at Carmel. 47

Father Crespi Returns . . .

August 27, 1774, the *Santiago* came to anchor again at Monterey.

Sickness among his men and adverse weather had been the lot of brave Captain Perez. The expedition had reached 55°, but had not been able to go ashore. Some stores for the presidio, which had not been landed before, were now unloaded but the frigate stayed in port till after the equinox, leaving October 9. Meanwhile, an account of the voyage went overland to the viceroy.

San Francisco Trip . . .

The soldiers and families whom Rivera had left behind finally reached Monterey October 28, 1774, and the commander agreed to head for San Francisco. Father Serra appointed Fray Francisco Palou chaplain of the expedition. The superior evidently had him in mind for minister of the proposed San Francisco foundation and, moreover, the viceroy had asked Fray Francisco to report the progress of the undertaking.

On the morning of November 23 Father Palou with two Indian lads knelt for the blessing of Fray Junípero and left Carmel to join Rivera at Monterey. All set out for the north that afternoon. There were sixteen soldiers and a muleteer besides the commander, the priest, and the two Indians. These latter acted as servant and sacristan to the padre. They returned to Monterey December 13 and Father Palou went over to Carmel at once to report to the Father President. Both were disappointed because the explorations at San Francisco were very incomplete. When the overland mail left Monterey January 13 (14?), 1775, Father Serra sent his report of this trip to the viceroy. 48

Things Spiritual . . .

Despite these interruptions and distractions the last half of '74 saw great progress, both spiritual and material, at Carmel Mission. There were, of course, very few adult converts, only seven; this, because the famine had interrupted instruction, but ninety-two children were baptized. Father Serra administered the sacrament himself in all cases except emergencies. Apparently the neophytes in their wanderings had been a good advertisement, for nearly all these little ones had come from families which numbered no other Christian members. Several adults presented themselves for instruction and Fray Junípero took personal charge of the classes, which began about the middle of July. He would arrange the catechumens

in a circle about him and with the aid of an interpreter explain the more essential Christian truths.

There were four Indian marriages, two of them blessings of unions which existed already in paganism. One of the grooms was a son of Tatlun, chief of the Carmeleños. Deaths, on the other hand, literally decimated the neophytes. There were seventeen, but fifteen of them occurred in the month of July, so the bark may have brought the germs of an epidemic. The year ended with thirty-two Christian Indian families and one hundred catechumens.

The honor of being the first white couple to exchange marriage vows in Monterey, and probably in California, goes to Don Lorenzo de Resa, an Andalusian from the city of Xeres, and María Theresa de Ochoa, a Mexican from Tepic and the illegitimate daughter of a woman by the same name.

María Theresa had come on the *Santiago* as servant girl to Don Rafael de Pedro Gil and his wife, Doña Josefa. This gentleman was to be the warehouse keeper at San Diego. The young lady probably fell for the charms of Don Lorenzo during the voyage. Don Pedro and his wife did everything possible to prevent the marriage but good Padre Junípero decided that María Theresa should have her way and her man. They were married before Father Serra at Carmel July 24, 1774, two weeks after Don Pedro and the wife departed servantless for San Diego.

The first local white romance was between José Marcelino Bravo, a native of San Luis Pótosí, corporal of the Carmel Mission guard, and María del Carmen Chamorro, daughter of the mission carpenter and a native of Guadalajara. Father Serra conducted the ceremonies at Carmel August 30, 1774.

There were three *mestizo* children born, but two died. One of the Volunteer soldiers, Francisco Portella, died alone while on sentinel duty. He was buried in the presidio chapel April 25, 1774. 49

Buildings, Ranch and Farm . . .

The provisional buildings set up at Carmel in 1771 had proved impractical and when the physician, servants, and mechanics arrived in May, '74, the Father President set about to remedy the situation. By the end of the year accommodations were greatly improved. A granary of adobe and logs about 20' x 80' with a thatched, gable

roof was built; also, a workshop of plastered pole construction but with a thatched roof. Two similar structures were erected to house the two servants who had married neophytes, and a third cared for the corporal of the guard and his new wife. The surgeon and blacksmith with their families were accommodated in a couple of the old but more spacious and convenient flat-roofed buildings. A large adobe oven was built for the mission baker and several small ones for the neophyte villagers.

To insure better care for the church, Father Serra brought with him from Mexico Conrado de Toledo, an Indian of the Sierra Gorda. He was duly installed as sacristan.

Agriculture and cattle raising began to show signs of progress which continued for a decade and so guaranteed the permanency of the mission and its independence of outsiders in the matter of essential food. Three mares foaled in '74, increasing the herd of horses and mules to twenty-nine. Nineteen calves were branded in December and ten of them were steered. For each of the feasts: Easter, St. Francis, and Christmas, a steer or a bull was slaughtered, leaving in the herd fifty-seven head. They did not count the pigs in December but in May, '75, their number had decreased to twenty-seven. No sheep seem yet to have reached Carmel.

For the harvest of '74 they had planted five bushels of wheat and some barley, maize, and beans. They reaped two hundred and seven bushels of wheat, two hundred and fifty of maize, and forty-five of the rest.

50

Packs and Stock from Vellicatá . . .

Even before Father Palou left Lower California there had been hanging fire the question of releasing certain goods and stock belonging to the Franciscans but left behind at Vellicatá. The Father President of the Dominicans and Governor Barri, while each blaming the other, were equally responsible for the delays. To settle the question the Franciscans relinquished their rights to cattle that had once belonged to the Lower California missions, and obtained from the viceroy a specific order directing the governor to turn over the rest.

When Father Serra was informed that all was in order he had Father Dumetz leave Monterey for Vellicatá January 13 (14?),

1775. His pack train picked up additional mules at each mission. He returned with the packs, leaving at each mission what belonged to its padres, and arrived with the balance at Carmel June 13. In these bundles there came, among other things, the libraries of the various priests.

The cattle, mares, and eighty-nine mules were delivered to San Diego by the soldiers of the new governor, Don Felipe de Neve, who had reached Loreto March 4, 1775. The mules were survivors of a herd of one hundred which the viceroy, at Father Serra's request, had sent from Sonora for the Alta California missions. The cattle and mares were distributed to the missions but it is not recorded that Carmel got any of them. Rivera pretended to believe that the mules were for the soldiers and distributed half of them to his men. After a few words with Father Serra, he admitted that they were for the missions but pleaded as an excuse the soldiers' need. This was quite true and Father Serra, without complaint, contented himself with the forty odd which remained. He distributed about five to each mission and reserved fifteen at Carmel for new foundations.

51

San Francisco, Capistrano and San Antonio . . .

June 27 the *San Carlos* entered the port of Monterey. Her captain was Juan de Ayala, and the chaplain, Fray Vicente de Santa María. The cargo included supplies for a new presidio to be founded at San Francisco and her captain had orders to explore the northern bay and prepare for the coming of Anza, who was expected shortly with people for the new settlement. The captain, no doubt, explained further that two other barks, which were exploring the northwest coast, might soon be arriving in California.

While the sailors were unloading what belonged to Monterey, the vessel's carpenters built a *cayuco* from the trunk of a large redwood tree which grew by the Carmel River. It was prepared for careful study of the shore at San Francisco. Rivera could not grant Ayala's request for soldiers to go overland and meet the ship at its destination, but he agreed to send a party as soon as troops which were in San Diego should return to Monterey. The *San Carlos* left for San Francisco July 27.

What happened to the men who were in San Diego is not re-

corded, but other things kept Rivera from fulfilling his promise. August 10 there came letters to both the president and the commander from the viceroy urging the foundation not only of two missions on San Francisco Bay but also of at least one mission in the south. Rivera hastened to consult Father Serra and it was agreed that San Juan Capistrano would be established without delay. Father Lasuén, who at the moment was ministering to the Monterey garrison, and Father Amurrio, a supernumerary at San Luis Obispo, were appointed ministers for the new foundation. Carmel gave up one of its guards that there might be enough soldiers for the venture. Father Lasuén was on his way south before the end of the month.

Meanwhile, August 29, the *Santiago* under Don Bruno Ezeta anchored at Monterey, and later the same day couriers brought word that pagan Indians had attacked Mission San Antonio. Rivera at once dispatched a corporal and some soldiers to handle the trouble. Messengers from them soon returned stating that the damage was slight and that the culprits had been apprehended.

Don Bruno unloaded some grain and supplies for the mission. These he had brought because there had been no room for them on the *San Carlos*. He asked the commander for soldiers that he might go overland to see how Ayala was getting on at San Francisco. Rivera had to put him off until his men would return from San Antonio.

The *Santiago* with the schooner, *Sonora*, and the *San Carlos* had left San Blas in March; the two former to explore the northwest coast, and the latter to have a look at San Francisco Bay. Ezeta had finished his exploring and lost trace of the schooner during stormy weather in the north. Ayala also was under his command; hence, his interest in the San Francisco exploration.

The troop returned from San Antonio September 12 and on the fourteenth Ezeta set out overland for the new port. In his party were nine soldiers, three sailors, a carpenter, Fray Miguel de la Campa, chaplain of the *Santiago*, and Fray Francisco Palou, who was to size up the place for a mission site. On the same day that Ezeta reached San Francisco (September 22) the *San Carlos* entered Monterey Bay. Ayala had given up hope of seeing either Anza's or Rivera's men at San Francisco. Ezeta looked over the San Fran-

cisco district and was back at Monterey October 1.

52

More about the Vessels . . .

On the seventh of the same month, to the great joy of all, the *Sonora* under Lieutenant Juan Francisco de Bodega y Quadra came into port and cast anchor beside the *San Carlos* and *Santiago*. Everyone on board had a touch of scurvy but none had died. The sick were landed next day.

This frail craft was manned by a crew which must go down among the bravest and most capable that ever sailed the western coast. August 5, when it had become evident that the *Santiago* was lost, the crew voted to continue the voyage and made a vow to Our Lady of Bethlehem, that should they reach the latitude called for in their instructions, each member would contribute his share for a solemn Mass in Her honor. The captain agreed and that evening the wind changed in their favor. They eventually made port and took possession in Alaska.

In fulfillment of this vow (even though they did not quite reach 60°) all the people of the *Sonora* went over to Carmel on the morning of October 14. There they assisted at a high Mass in honor of Our Lady during which everyone from captain to cabin boy went to Holy Communion.

October 11 the *San Carlos* had departed; Don Juan Perez, who had been in the sea service of California since the beginning, was her first pilot. He had been taken sick at Monterey but sailed anyway. Two days out of port he died. The padres, however, did not hear of this till the 1776 bark came. They were much grieved, for Don Juan was a favorite among them. They sang Mass at Carmel for the repose of his soul and remembered him also with several low Masses.

By November 1 the crew of the *Sonora* was well enough to leave. Rivera had been very kind to them and the padres went without in order that there would be available an abundance of the foods best calculated to cure the scurvy. That day the two vessels left for Mexico.

53

The San Diego Uprising . . .

On the evening of December 13, 1775, Fray Junípero received one of the greatest shocks of his life. A courier from Lieutenant Ortega

arrived at nightfall and informed Rivera of the Indian attack at San Diego, the casualties, the abandonment of San Diego Mission, and the recall of the group which was engaged in building San Juan Capistrano. The captain went at once to Carmel to inform the president. The latter wished to set out with Rivera for the south, but the officer refused to take him saying that the marches would be too rapid for the old man.

December 14 the six padres at Carmel chanted a solemn requiem for Father Jayme, and each agreed to say twenty Masses for the repose of his soul. They realized that he had lost his life in the line of duty and was likely a martyr with no need of their prayers, but then one never knows till the Church has spoken.

On the sixteenth Rivera hurried off with thirteen soldiers. He carried letters from Father Serra to the viceroy and to the College of San Fernando. In these the president told what he had heard of the affair and assured the authorities that the padres were not discouraged as a result. Father Dumetz went with the troop to San Antonio where he joined Father Sitjar and released Fathers Cambón and Pieras who were both sick. These two came to Carmel arriving December 23.

Work Among the Indians . . .

Father Palou has told us that 1774 ended with one hundred adults under Father Serra's personal instruction. During 1775 there were seventy-six adult baptisms. It is reasonable to suppose, as indeed these figures indicate, that like Lot's wife about one-fourth of the catechumens looked back. But if seventy-five per cent of each class persevered till baptism it was not a bad average. Twenty-one Indian children were christened but death again took a heavy toll; ten adults and ten children in a community of three hundred and forty-one, or a death rate of nearly sixty per thousand. This is all the more remarkable, for the average age of the Indians so far converted was only sixteen years.

Twenty-one of the couples baptized had their marriages blessed by the Church and twelve others entered new marriage contracts. Juan Evangelista, the lad whom Father Serra had taken to Mexico, married December 2. Besides these, two Indian girls became wives of newcomers. Agueda married José Tiburcio Altamirano, a Mexi-

can sailor, and Antonia Josefa wed José María Gonzales, a mulatto servant of the mission.

Among the 1775 converts were Tatlun, chief of Carmel Valley, and his wife. Father Serra named them for the viceroy and his consort: Antonio María Bucareli and María Antonia Ursúa. Don Bruno Ezeta of the *Santiago* was godparent and the ceremony took place September 10. Their marriage was blessed the same day.

In May of this year Father Serra made his first trip into the Excelen country. He was no doubt accompanied by an interpreter. At Rancheria Xasauan, some ten leagues east of the mission and deep in the Santa Lucia Mountains, he found Pachhepas, captain of Excelen, very ill. Due instructions were given and on the ninth Father Serra baptized him. Nearly every resident of the *rancheria* was present at the ceremony and gave signs that they were pleased to see their captain become a Christian and that there were good hopes that they would imitate him. So says Fray Junípero, and subsequent records show that he interpreted well the people's appearance. The chief lingered on a while but died before the end of the year and was buried at his *rancheria*. There is no indication that this visit of Father Serra produced any other immediate results. 54

Care of the Spaniards . . .

Father Murguía served as second assistant at the mission and since there were several supernumeraries at Carmel, one of them cared for the Spaniards at the presidio. July 1, 1775, Rivera requested that Father Lasuén be made chaplain to the soldiers. Father Serra agreed and by the nineteenth the new priest was at Monterey only to find himself on his way to Capistrano about a month later. The sacramental registers indicate that the chaplains, Fathers Campa and Sierra, functioned at Monterey while their barks were in port.

Spiritual care of the non-Indian population was a bone of contention between the Franciscans and the military authorities for over twenty-five years. The Spaniards expected free service and the padres were correct in denying that they were entitled to it. The religious made quite a bit of the fact that they did give some service free as a charity and for the good of their souls. One must be forgiven if he feels that the good fathers would have been far wiser to have taken at least as deep an interest in Spanish and Mexican souls as

they did in those of the Indian. One wonders today whether the lack of faith and training in laymen which resulted in both the Mexican and Californian spoliation of the Church is not to be traced as much to shortsighted churchmen as to godless Frenchmen.

55

First White Children . . .

Monterey's first white children, four in number and all girls, were born in 1775. The honor of first goes to María Josefa de la Luz de Heredia, born at Monterey February 13, 1775, daughter of Bernardo de Heredia, a *cuera* soldier, and his wife, Nicolasa de Elisalde, both from Sinaloa City and members of the Rivera group. They had arrived at the presidio in October, '74. There was one marriage of whites and no deaths.

56

Ranch and Farm . . .

With the mules turned over by Rivera the corral netted an increase of only three head, for Father Crespi's *Sonoriña* and a pack animal died. The four mares foaled, but two of the colts died as did a gelding from the year before.

There are no records for the cattle. At Easter they butchered a cow, belonging to San Francisco, because she had a tumor on her face, and for each of the feasts of Corpus Christi and St. Francis they slaughtered a steer. In just what year the herd reached five hundred head is not known but it was before 1782. Neither the padres nor the Indians had meat except on the great feasts till the five hundred mark was passed. Even thereafter the Indians got it only for the great feasts, but the padres, Lower Californians, and the sick had veal slaughtered two or three times a week. They did not butcher for sale except one or two head when the supply ship came. The captain would give them in return something useful for the mission. By the end of 1775 the pigs numbered forty-six. The padres seem to have kept their numbers at between twenty-five and fifty during the whole mission period.

The harvest was excellent despite heavy rains. Barley, three kinds of wheat, five kinds of beans, lentils, peas, and maize were planted. All told, they sowed some seventeen bushels and reaped about nine hundred and eighty. The additional sowing was made possible by the viceroy's allotment of six servants to Carmel. Among

them were some farm hands who had been sailors on the '74 transport. These trained a few oxen and so, more land could be and was tilled in the winter of 1774-1775.

57

VI

Trying Times

(6 Years 1776 - 1781)

The first triennium of this period is marked by a decline in adult baptisms and 1779-1781 is practically barren. 1776 saw the excitement of Anza's arrival, the failure of the ships to bring mission cargo, and Father Serra's San Diego visit. In subsequent years only two annual vessels came despite new missions, additional whites, and a growing neophyte population. In '78 the Father President received his faculties to confirm and the padres had to prepare the adults for this sacrament.

The Franciscans were discouraged by Governor Neve's antagonism and his interference with their Indian procedure. They were made uneasy too by the shift of California from the jurisdiction of the viceroy and the bishop of Guadalajara to that of a commander general and a bishop in Sonora.

The spiritual conquest of Carmel Valley ended in 1778. The farm and ranch would have to be expanded before the neophyte village could be enlarged to accommodate Indians of other nations. The Carmel crops failed in both '80 and '81 and, as yet, the mission cattle did not number five hundred.

Anza Arrives . . .

The Anza Expedition, which had been expected in 1775, reached San Gabriel in January the following year. It was delayed there six weeks while Lieutenant Colonel Anza went with Don Fernando to settle with the San Diego Indians. A dozen soldiers with their families remained at San Gabriel under Sergeant Grixalva, while Anza with the rest, numbering in excess of one hundred and thirty, pushed on to Monterey. They arrived in a drenching rain the evening of March 10. They had left the Salinas on their right at Buenavista and reached their destination by the route now used for the Monterey-Salinas Highway.

Fray Pedro Font of the Querétaro Franciscans was chaplain. He and the colonel at once notified the mission of their arrival and early next morning the Father President, four of his priests, and Surgeon Dávila came over to the presidio. After the customary embraces the chaplain sang a high Mass of thanksgiving and preached on God's favors to the expedition.

The colonel, his chaplain, his commissary, and ten of the soldiers needed no urging to accept Father Serra's invitation to reside at Carmel and went there that afternoon. There were no decent quarters at Monterey. Those who remained behind had to live in tents in the presidio patio.

The guests were received at Carmel with the usual ceremonies: ringing of bells, discharge of firearms, adoration of the cross, meeting of the newcomers by Father Murguía vested in cope and aspergillum in hand, the singing of the *Te Deum*, and a visit to the Blessed Sacrament.

58

Obstacles to San Francisco . . .

Two days later Anza was taken ill and spent a week in bed. To make matters worse, his lieutenant, Don José Joaquín Moraga, came over from the presidio with the news that Rivera had ordered the immigrants to build houses for themselves at Monterey and to stay there till he could get around to founding San Francisco.

Neither Anza nor anyone of his company was in a mood to submit to such foolishness. Anza replied that he was setting out to explore San Francisco and that upon his return he hoped to find Rivera's order directing that the viceroy's will be obeyed. He in-

cluded in his letter Father Serra's reaction, namely, that the padres destined for San Francisco and Santa Clara had waited two years and would return to Mexico if there were much more delay. This message was sent March 17 with a detachment of soldiers which Rivera had called from Monterey to San Diego.

Fray Pedro Font . . .

Fray Pedro seems to have been rather an irritating than an irritable personage. He was outspoken, curious, persistent, fond of a bit of gossip, and apparently devoid of a sense of humor. He had gotten a touch of scurvy at San Diego and was not cured till the time for his return to Sonora. It likely did not help his disposition.

March 17 the good padre went to the presidio for Mass and was met by the lamentations of his flock. They had bad water to drink and none for washing. There was no soap and their saddle animals were kept locked in a corral. What Fray Pedro said to console them we do not know, but Rivera's sergeant heard it and was angered. He accused the priest of making the people dissatisfied. The padre's quick retort sent the gentleman back to his room mumbling that the people could go mad for all he cared. So Fray Pedro said Mass and preached on the barley loaves and fishes. Christ gave them to the people when white bread and beef would have been much better but, on the other hand, He could have given them worse foods. On St. Joseph's Day they had a high Mass at Carmel. Father Font played his fiddle and Fray Junípero preached. Padre Pedro says it was a good sermon.

The reverend president seems to have been keeping his troubles with Don Fernando pretty much a secret but Fray Pedro had his own ways of getting the gossip. Cornering the president one day he began to relate how Rivera was saying in San Diego that Fray Junípero was so zealous to have new missions that he insisted they be founded even if there was nothing with which to furnish them. This got the old man started and before the morning was over Father Font had the whole story.

San Francisco Studied . . .

March 23 Anza, who was not yet entirely well, set out for the northern port. He and Father Font had left Carmel the day before. There were also in the party Lieutenant Moraga with eight Anza

soldiers, Corporal Juan José Robles with two Monterey privates, and six servants including muleteers. The colonel had wanted Father Palou or Father Cambón to go along but the president refused lest Rivera be angered. The party was back in Monterey April 8. Their report on San Francisco gave heart to the colonists who heretofore had been discouraged at the prospects as painted by the pessimist, Rivera.

Anza Leaves . . .

After dinner at the presidio Anza, Father Font, and the soldiers went over to the mission where they could rest in peace. Four of the clergy met them on the way and they were welcomed at the church with the ringing of bells.

No word had come from the captain. April 12 Sergeant José María Góngora was dispatched to inform the impolite gentleman that Anza was returning to Sonora. Next day the colonel went to Monterey and turned over command of the expedition to Lieutenant Moraga. It numbered two hundred and one persons, some of whom were still at San Gabriel.

On the fourteenth, after sad farewells and with the good wishes of Father Serra and the other priests, who came to see him off, Anza set out with a party of thirty-two. Included were Father Pieras, now restored to health, who went as far as San Antonio, and a servant for San Gabriel. Father Font, of course, was in the caravan.

Rivera Excommunicated . . .

April 15 a messenger arrived at Carmel with the news that Don Fernando had just returned to Monterey and that when he was well enough he would bring the Father President some letters. Father Serra, with three of his brethren, Friars Murguia, Cambón, and Peña, went at once to the presidio where they found the captain suffering from nothing worse than an indefinite pain in the leg. One of the letters had been opened but Rivera was ready to swear that this resulted from an accident. In the course of conversation Don Fernando confessed that Father Fuster had excommunicated him for arresting the Indian, Carlos, who had taken refuge in the San Diego church. After a bit of questioning, the Father President left, saying he would read the letters from the San Diego priests

and then pass judgment on Father Fuster's action.

Arrived home, Father Serra and his confreres studied the matter and agreed the commander had deserved what he got. It was further determined to send an account of the affair to the College of San Fernando, so Father Cambón was chosen to carry the documents to Anza for dispatch through Sonora. After a day's delay Rivera furnished a four soldier escort and the messenger left the presidio April 18. On the twentieth he overtook the colonel at San Luis Obispo.

When Father Peña, who had asked for the escort, went to bid farewell to Father Cambón he learned that Don Fernando intended to start for San Diego next day and to meet Anza on the road. Father Peña at once reminded the captain that the Father President would wish to go along. Rivera replied as before that the marches would be too rapid for the old priest. Meanwhile, Fray Junípero notified the commander that in the judgment of the Carmel priests their colleague had done right in excommunicating him for breaking the right of sanctuary.

On the afternoon of the nineteenth, as the commander mounted his horse for San Diego, he handed the corporal a letter and told him to carry it to Father Serra. It was a plea for absolution from the censure in case one had been incurred, which he still doubted. The president replied immediately to the effect that when the Indian was returned to the church the San Diego fathers would lift the censure. Rivera got the reply four leagues beyond Monterey and journeyed on. His efforts to treat with Anza, whom he passed at San Luis Obispo, were fruitless. The colonel insisted that all be in writing and that no subject be touched but the foundation at San Francisco.

The commander reached San Diego May 7 and at once dispatched Sergeant Góngora with letters for Grixalva and Moraga. The former was to take the San Gabriel Anza people to Monterey without further delay, and Moraga with twenty soldiers was to found San Francisco Presidio at the site chosen by Anza. Moraga's letter added that Father Serra should be informed that the new mission would be delayed. May 28 Sergeant Grixalva reached Monterey with his party and Rivera's letter to Moraga. 59

The Supply Ships . . .

Meanwhile, May 21, the *San Antonio* under Don Diego Choquet, with the Fernandino, Fray Benito Sierra as chaplain, entered the port. A small part of her cargo was for the Monterey Presidio, the rest was consigned to San Diego. She discharged the Monterey goods and loaded a quantity of pine beams for the southern port. This took some time for apparently her crew had to cut and trim the timber.

She was still in port June 3 when the *San Carlos* came to anchor beside her. This vessel was commanded by Don Fernando Quirós and had the Fernandinos, Fathers Santa María and Nosedal, as chaplains. Her cargo was consigned to the presidios of Monterey and San Francisco, there being only a few bales for the northern missions. As a result, not only the three old missions but the new ones on San Francisco Bay were to find themselves quite handicapped for want of provisions. No third vessel came that year.

San Francisco Founded . . .

The *San Carlos* discharged the Monterey cargo and took on provisions for San Francisco. These had been in storage since the previous year. They also loaded a great part of the belongings of the soldiers and settlers, as well as the vestments, utensils, and tools destined for the new mission.

Lieutenant Moraga set June 17, 1776, as the day of his departure. The Father President, noting that Rivera had said nothing about chaplains, sent Fathers Palou and Cambón whom he had chosen as ministers for San Francisco. They took everything necessary for establishing a mission, including eighty-six head of cattle. Although ostensibly they were to be chaplains for the party, they and Moraga no doubt had secret orders from the president to use their own judgment regarding the mission foundation.

On the appointed day as grand a cavalcade as ever trod the soil of California set off from Monterey to found a city which would not yet have celebrated its diamond jubilee ere its name would be known in all the earth; a city which by its natural location would be destined to greatness till the end of time.

There went with Moraga, a sergeant, two corporals, ten soldiers, and seven settlers; each, except the lieutenant, with his wife

and family. There were also five servants, one or two employees of soldiers, and the two padres with five servants, three of them Indians. The pack trains, two hundred and eighty-six cattle, and a herd of horses, completed the caravan. Ten of Anza's soldiers with their wives and families remained at Monterey.

The *San Carlos* had orders to take on two cannons at Monterey for the San Francisco foundation. The captain sent a messenger to San Diego for Rivera's permit. This came about mid-June and the vessel left for the northern port. It did not reach its destination till August 17. Adverse winds had driven it below San Diego and far out to sea. Father Peña sailed on it to inspect the site for Santa Clara Mission. The land expedition had been at San Francisco since June 27. The men of both groups set to work and soon not only the presidio but also the mission was founded and put in operation. The mission was dedicated October 3, 1776. 60

Father Serra Goes South . . .

June 23 the *San Antonio* left for San Diego but contrary winds drove her above San Francisco and she returned to Monterey. At the same time Ortega arrived with the mail. In it were letters from the southern fathers saying that Rivera appeared disinterested in the refounding of either Capistrano or San Diego, and that they were discouraged and wanted permission to return to Mexico.

The Father President determined to go south on the *San Antonio*. Father Sierra remained chaplain but it was decided that Father Santa María should go along to replace any padre whom Fray Junípero could not console into remaining in California. Father Nosedal remained alone as chaplain of the *San Carlos*.

The *San Antonio* sailed June 30 with the three priests aboard. She arrived without mishap at her destination July 11. The Father President had his trials in the south, but between the help given him by the men of the bark and letters which came from Mexico commanding Rivera to re-establish the missions all turned out well. Father Serra stayed till he saw both institutions under way. Meanwhile, the padres were changed about and no one pressed his demand to retire. The president returned to his own mission in six months January 1, 1777. The clerical personnel at Carmel remained unchanged except that Father Dumetz was re-instated as second assistant. 61

Santa Clara Founded . . .

Meanwhile, Rivera having ordered the work to proceed at the two southern missions left San Diego October 11 to give a hand at founding two on San Francisco Bay. At San Luis Obispo he was was much pleased when he heard that San Francisco Mission already had been established.

Arrived at Monterey he consulted with the fathers and it was agreed that Father Peña, who meanwhile had returned from San Francisco, would go with the commander to choose a site for Santa Clara. They departed toward the end of November. Rivera left Father Peña at San Francisco while he returned to Monterey by way of the San Joaquin River. It was understood that arrived home he would send soldiers to found Santa Clara.

In early December a courier reached the presidio with dispatches telling of an Indian attack at San Luis Obispo. A messenger was sent to San Francisco and, from there, after Rivera. The commander gave orders to halt preparations for Santa Clara till he had investigated the uprising in the south. He hurried back to Monterey and went thence directly to the scene of the trouble. Without delay he caught the two heathen leaders, returned with them to the presidio, and notified Moraga that work could proceed at the new mission. About mid-January word came to Carmel that Santa Clara had been founded January 12, 1777, and Father Murguia, the other priest destined for that foundation, left for his new home with a few Monterey soldiers, the cattle, and sundry equipment.

Trouble in Ensen . . .

There was a fracas between the Spaniards and the people of Ensen in 1776; probably the latter had attacked a pack train. At least one native lost his life. Whether this trouble had anything to do with the scare of an attack on Carmel in the spring of the year is unknown. A neophyte had rushed to the padres one day and announced that he had seen the Ensens, ancient and powerful enemies of the Rumsens, armed for battle and coming up Los Laureles Canyon. Father Serra was not impressed by the message, but the sergeant in charge at Monterey came to the mission with several soldiers. He persuaded the seven priests to pass the night in one room while the military on horseback guarded the place. Morning came

without incident. Father Palou remarks that if there were anything in the neophyte's story, a heavy rainstorm that night probably disheartened the raiders.

62

Agriculture, Stock and Buildings . . .

Father Font describes the 1776 fields as being along the Carmel River and producing fine crops of wheat, barley, beans, peas, chick-peas, and lentils; all without irrigation for which there was still no provision. He remarks also that the lettuce from Father Palou's garden cured his scurvy and that in spring salmon was plentiful in the Carmel. This fish was dried for storage by the padres. He speaks also of fine wild strawberries on the road between the presidio and the mission.

Sheep and goats reached Carmel about this time. The mission inventories for 1775-1782 have not survived. That of 1783 lists two hundred and twenty sheep but in 1784 it is one hundred and ten sheep and one hundred and ten goats. Both these animals were at San Diego already in 1773, and by 1777 there were enough in California for Neve to make them available to settlers.

We have no record of new structures at Monterey other than Father Font's note about Rivera building a storehouse and a shack at the harbor. Both were for the personnel of the supply ships. Each of the six priests who dwelt at Carmel occupied his own little thatched cell.

63

Monterey Made California's Capital . . .

February 3, 1777, Don Felipe Neve arrived at Monterey. José de Gálvez had not forgotten his child. He brought about the transfer of the capital of California from Loreto to Monterey. Anza's report and probably Father Serra's superiors at San Fernando had convinced the viceroy that Rivera must go. This royal order made the matter easy. Captain Rivera was shifted as lieutenant governor to Loreto and Lieutenant Colonel Neve, Governor of the Californias, was sent to reside at Monterey.

Neve at once inspected the Monterey foundations, made his inventories, and in April set out for San Francisco and Santa Clara. He had seen the other establishments on his way to the capital. On his return home he sent a report to the viceroy.

Epidemic . . .

An epidemic at Santa Clara in the month of May wrought considerable havoc among the natives. It may have started at Monterey. At any rate, in February and March ten Christian children, two of them white, were buried in the peninsula churches. The records do not give the cause of death. 64

The Supply Ship . . .

In 1777 the *Santiago* under Don Francisco Castro and with Father Nosedal as chaplain went direct from San Blas to San Francisco. Having left there the cargo for the two northern missions, it sailed for Monterey and entered the harbor May 28. Supplies were unloaded this time for the missions of the Monterey district as well as for the presidio, and room had been found aboard for some of the effects left behind in 1776. The vessel departed June 8.

It was apparently on this occasion that the beautiful monstrance still in use at Monterey was delivered to Father Serra. The inscription on its base reads: "(This) belongs to the Mission of Carmel in New California, (having been) given by His Excellency, El Brailio Frey Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa, Viceroy of New Spain, and in the year 1777." 65

More Political Changes . . .

In the September mail came news that the so-called seven interior provinces which included California had been cut off from the viceroyalty of New Spain and erected into a commandancy general. Henceforth the missions of California were to depend on the viceroy for provisions only. The missionaries were not pleased at the idea, chiefly because the residence of the commander general was far from their college in Mexico City.

This royal decree, which fulfilled at least partially the plans of Gálvez, was dated August 22, 1776, and in December of that year Commander General Teodoro de Croix, nephew of the viceroy who had worked with Gálvez, arrived in Mexico. Arispe, Sonora, was eventually made the capital. The fathers were soon to lament the new arrangement but this chiefly because Don Teodoro proved himself a small man and a stumbling block to their work. In 1793 California was returned to the jurisdiction of the viceroy.

Father Serra Goes North . . .

The Father President had been anxious to have a look at the new missions near San Francisco but it was September, '77, before he could get away. After passing the feast of St. Michael at Santa Clara and, at San Francisco, that of its patron, he returned to Carmel about mid-October. 66

First Confirmations in California . . .

The *Santiago* with supplies for the northern missions anchored at San Francisco June 17, 1778. Don Juan Manuel de Ayala was captain and Father Nosedal, chaplain. The report which had come overland about the establishment of the interior provinces was confirmed. The padres also learned that the new bishop of Sonora was interested in establishing *custodias* and that in 1779 the viceroy was sending another expedition to explore in the far north. Among the packets for the Father President was the document authorizing him to confirm. Since the vessel was to remain at the harbor of St. Francis over a month, the fathers there sent their superior's mail and the news overland to Carmel. The *Santiago* left San Francisco July 27, and reached Monterey on the thirty-first, where it discharged goods for the presidio and the three missions of that jurisdiction. It stayed in port till August 25.

"On June 29, 1778, in the Church of the Mission of San Carlos de Monterey, Fray Junípero Serra, wearing the same vestments in which he had just sung the principal Mass of that solemn feast of the Apostles, Saints Peter and Paul, and assisted by the Fathers Juan Crespi and Francisco Dumetz, his fellow ministers at this mission, with holy chrism made and blessed by the Bishop of Guadalajara (the freshest available) confirmed, according to the formula of the *Roman Pontifical*," ninety children aged from a few days to ten years. The very first to receive the sacrament was Junípero, son of Tatlun, chief of the Carmeleños. After his sermon Father Serra read a translation of the Papal Brief. His congregation consisted of "the whole *pueblo*."

Among those confirmed was Pedro, aged a bit more than ten years, the first San Franciscan to receive the sacrament. This Indian lad had come to Monterey with Father Cambón, who no doubt had been the mailman. On thirteen other occasions between July 5

and August 23 the Father President confirmed at Carmel. The whole series made one hundred and eighty-three Soldiers of Christ: one hundred and sixty-two Carmel Indians, five *mestizos*, two white youngsters, thirteen sailors from the *Santiago*, and Pedro, the San Franciscan.

On St. Bartholomew's Day, August 24, Father Serra left on the packet boat for San Diego, where and whence northward he exercised his newly acquired faculty in favor of both neophytes and Spaniards. He was back at his own mission December 23. 67

Things Spiritual and Temporal . . .

The triennium which began in '76 is marked by a falling off in the number of converts. The average annual adult baptisms were thirty-one against seventy-six for 1775.

The spiritual conquest of Carmel Valley was completed in 1778. Meanwhile, several of the native *rancherías* were given Christian names and may have been recognized as legitimate dwelling places for neophytes who could not be accommodated at the mission. There are references of even date to exclusively gentile villages in the Santa Lucia. *Rancheria Rumsen* which gave its name to the language of the Carmel and Salinas Valleys seems not to have been founded till after the bulk of the Carmeleños were converted. The only clue to its location is marriage 399 which gives the native place of an Indian as Rumsen in the margin and San Miguel in the text. San Miguel was the Christian name of Sorroconda. It is probable that the unconvertible remnant of Carmel established the place near old Socorro. No native of Rumsen ever became a Christian.

In 1776 Father Murguía visited the *rancherías* of Excelen and baptized one or other native who was in danger of death. He neglected, however, to record these acts. In the latter part of the same year Father Dumetz christened the first healthy volunteers from that nation. They were five in number. A sixth adult was a grass widow from Sargenta Ruc, alias Jojopan, at the mouth of the Big Sur River. She was the first of her race to come for instruction.

Just as Tatlun had inclined his people to favor the Christians, so one, Hualo of Excelen, though not a chief, proved a great help in that nation. The first Ensen volunteer was also a grass widow. She had been born in Carmel Valley and had Christian relatives there.

She and her child arrived at the mission in 1777.

June 26, 1778, Tatlun, who had been chief of the Carmeleños when they were gentiles, died apparently of apoplexy and was buried in the mission church. In this same year, Father Serra was saddened by the passing of two other Indian friends: Cipriano Riera, the Lower Californian, who had first learned Rumsen, and Juan Evangelista, the Carmeleño, who had gone to Mexico with the Father President. Juan's wife and their only child died the same year.

Since the padres were dry farming, their crops varied greatly from year to year between 1777 and 1780. In two years they harvested scarcely four hundred *fanegas*. In one year they had to buy one hundred and thirty *pesos* worth of grain from San Luis Obispo. They found it especially difficult to grow corn without irrigation, but in good years the barley sufficed for the mission's needs.

The poor harvests hindered the making of converts and at the same time the rude buildings of 1771 were proving unsatisfactory. So the priests set to work at the making of adobes and had the whole mission rebuilt by the early 80's. 69

Indian Prisoners . . .

In August, '77, the Indians near San Diego killed a soldier and threatened further trouble. Four chiefs were captured and condemned to death. This ended the bother, but so far as can be learned the sentence was not executed. Apparently, these culprits or some of them were in Monterey in 1779. May 23 Father Serra confirmed Juan José de Olivera, aged ten years, a San Diego orphan who had come up to act as interpreter for certain prisoners whom the governor had ordered brought to the capital. 69

Burial Places . . .

Although a cemetery had been blessed at Monterey in 1770 and another at Carmel in 1772, the former had been used only for the five sailors who died in 1770 and the latter only for four Indians who succumbed in 1772 and 1773. All others who departed this life, prior to 1779, were given sepulchre in the churches, except that five or more who died among the gentiles were buried in the wilds. Thus we find that by January 1, 1779, seventy-five Indians (two of them Lower Californians) and one *mestizo* had been in-

tered in the mission church, while one Indian and eight whites had been buried in that of the presidio. From 1779 on, Monterey burials continue to be made in the chapel, but practically all Carmel interments were in the cemetery. There is nothing to indicate that a new cemetery was opened.

Troubles with Neve . . .

Governor Neve is considered by Bancroft a great patriot and by Father Engelhardt an anticlerical politician of the French School. Neither produces evidence to maintain his point. It is not easy to pass judgment on motives. He was anxious to please his superiors. Whether this was for love of the king or of Neve is not evident. He kept clear of involvement with Indians, whether through cowardice or for other reasons we cannot say. He often meddled in the affairs of the friars; whether because he was anticlerical, or taking orders from superiors, or distrustful of Franciscan ability, or personally adverse to Father Serra we do not profess to know.

At least two of the governor's humors affected San Carlos: the *alcalde* question and his attitude toward runaway neophytes; a third, the confirmation controversy, did not bother Carmel.

Neve on his own authority, so far as we know, decided that some attempt should be made at training the native Christians in self-government. To this end he ordained that the mission Indians should elect *alcaldes* and *regidores*. Two of each were ordered for Carmel. These officials were to be exempt from punishment and the jurisdiction of the fathers. The *alcaldes* were to have in a sense the functions of chief and the *regidores* were counselors. While Neve certainly was exceeding his rights, especially since he had not so much as consulted the padres, and despite the conviction of the priests that the system would not work, Father Serra put the new regulations into effect. The date is unknown. Probably the Carmel officials were installed just after Palm Sunday, 1779, on which day the Father President had it out with the governor but lost the argument.

Baltazar, a native of Ichxenta, aged about forty-five and a Christian only four years, was chosen first *alcalde*. He soon became quite insolent, complained to the governor, beat a Lower Californian for obeying the fathers, and seduced his sister-in-law. When

it looked as though the padres would take no more, he abandoned his bride of a few months and fled to the mountains. There he took up with another woman and thence sent messengers to induce the other neophytes to join him. Some heeded his suggestions. The Father President pleaded with him by emissaries to return but to no avail. He died an apostate and was buried November 17, 1780, at Oquijesta, a gentile *rancheria*, in the Santa Lucia Mountains.

Despite a general lack of success Neve insisted that the system continue. The padres showed no interest in making the scheme work. In January, 1780, Father Serra contented himself with telling the Indians to hold the elections which, of course, they did not bother to do. Neve checked him and got the sarcastic answer which one would expect. Nevertheless the old padre did see that the officials were chosen, but henceforth he ordered them held liable to chastisement for offences and Neve did not interfere. So far as we know the *alcaldes* thereafter existed but were of no special advantage to Church, State or Indians.

In August or thereabouts the governor saw fit, possibly at the suggestion of Commander General de Croix, to doubt the right of the Father President to confirm. He took the view that it was up to the chief local civil servant to ascertain that the king and the viceroy had approved the Papal Brief, nor would he consider as proper evidence the viceroy's letter to Father Serra congratulating the missionary on the favor he had received.

Father Serra threw the question into the lap of the guardian of San Fernando College. Father Palou is misinformed when he says that Fray Junípero refrained from confirming till the governor was satisfied, and even Father Engelhardt's correction that he refrained from publicly confirming is not exact. The most that one can say is that apart from the 1779 confirmation trip to Santa Clara and San Francisco he did not visit any mission during the controversy. This appears to have been because Neve would not have furnished a guard unless he would promise not to confirm, and if he did not confirm it would mean that he acknowledged Neve's usurpation of authority. It would seem that his trip to Santa Clara had been without soldiers.

The matter was settled in favor of the president but it was August 16, 1781, before he was so informed. Meanwhile, on thir-

teen private and four public occasions he had confirmed both Indians and whites at his own mission. Apparently the reason he confirmed publicly on only four occasions was that he had exhausted the immediate local supply of candidates. 70

Four Vessels . . .

Fathers Sierra and Nocal, who had been serving as chaplains on the supply ships, died; the former after the 1777 trip and the latter after that of 1778. Neither the College of San Fernando nor its several priests liked the chaplain assignment. Fernandinos came because no one else was available and in the hope that new California foundations or withdrawal of dissatisfied missionaries might force them to remain in the missions.

These two were not replaced by the college; hence, we find Don Nicolás de Loëra of the diocese of Guadalajara on the 1779 ship. He is the first diocesan priest to have set foot on California soil. The *Santiago* had anchored at San Francisco June 26 and left for Monterey a month later. She was nearly wrecked just outside San Francisco Bay and again off Point Año Nuevo. The men aboard attributed their escape to the Blessed Virgin. Accordingly, arrived at Monterey the officers and crew went over to Carmel August 8, where at their request and in their presence a Mass was sung in honor of Our Lady.

After the Mass Father Serra confirmed fourteen Carmeleños and five members of the crew. Among the latter was thirteen year old Dionysio Medina of Guadalajara, errand boy and server to Don Nicolás, the chaplain. On the tenth four more members of the ship's company received the sacrament. Since only one bark came from Mexico that year she went on to supply San Diego after discharging the Monterey cargo.

The *Princesa* and *Favorita* which had been exploring in the north came into San Francisco Bay in mid-September. The local padres invited the Father President to come up for the patronal feast but Neve did not put an escort at his disposal. Nevertheless, Father Serra set out somewhat later and probably without soldiers. He was met at Santa Clara by officers from the maritime expedition and arrived at San Francisco October 15. In both northern establishments he confirmed no less than thirty-six sailors as well as the Indians.

Before Father Serra's return from the Golden Gate, the overland mail arrived announcing the death of Viceroy Bucareli and Spain's war with England. The former must have saddened the heart of the venerable friar, the latter caused the vessels to hasten their departure. Father Cambón, who was unwell, left on the *Princesa* and one of its chaplains, Father Noriega, replaced him at San Francisco. Father Serra came home about November 20 and aided the collection of funds for the war effort. His mission gave one hundred and six dollars, and its *mayordomo* ten dollars. The diversion of ships occasioned by the conflict would cause a supply problem the next two years.

While the president was in the north the Manila galleon, *San José*, under Commander José Imparan arrived off Monterey. It sent a boat ashore with a request for provisions and a pilot who knew the harbor. The padres gave a calf and a sack of vegetables and the presidio a bull as temporary relief. A *cuera* soldier who had been a sailor was sent to act as pilot, but when the men, and no doubt the provisions, had been taken aboard and all was set to enter port a contrary wind came up. The launch was upset and lost and the ship went on till she arrived at Cape San Lucas in Lower California. There she landed the soldier and took on provisions. The king considered that Imparan could have come into port. He was censured by Gálvez, then minister of state, and in 1782 it was decreed that thenceforth the Manila galleon must call at Monterey unless prevented by adverse winds. The *Carmel Inventories* record a visit of the ship in 1784 on which occasion the mission gave her twenty-six hogs in exchange for goods. She came again in '85 but San Carlos had no traffic with her in obedience to a royal decree which empowered only the royal storekeeper to supply her needs.

71

Other Local News . . .

September 3, 1779, Alexo Antonio Duarte, a presidio corporal, and Antonio Espinosa, a private, died by violence and before they could be given the last sacraments. The record does not indicate whether they lost their lives in the line of duty or otherwise. Both were given Christian burial in the Monterey chapel.

Not a single convert had been made in 1779 but a few had

come for instruction. Five who persevered were baptized by Father Serra early in 1780. Three more were christened in the fall.

The '79 harvest had been fair (some twenty-six hundred bushels), so it is likely that a delay in the supply ship was not seriously felt. The *San Carlos*, *San Antonio*, and *Princesa* had gone on war business to Manila. The *Santiago* came alone to California. Don Miguel Dávalos of the Guadalajara Diocese was chaplain. October 7, she anchored at Monterey and discharged the cargo for both central and northern establishments to the great inconvenience of the latter.

In June, 1780, Marcial José, who lived at the mission, got permission from the padres to visit his relatives and friends in the country. As he went his way through the fields beyond Tucutnut he was set upon by a fierce bear which tore him so badly that he died two days later.

72

A Bit of Scandal . . .

The neophyte, Fernando José, had been very ill and it became apparent that he would not recover. His wife, Catalina, had meanwhile taken a fancy to the soldier, José Joaquín de Espinosa, and he to her. The woman was pregnant as a result of their adultery, with an agreement that they would marry when the husband should die. Fernando went to his reward in due time and the pair presented themselves to Father Serra for marriage and admitted their sin. Then, as now, adultery with a promise of marriage was an impediment but the Father President had ample faculties and he granted a dispensation. The nuptials took place May 8, 1780.

This is the first recorded dereliction on the part of a Monterey white which involved a Monterey Indian woman. It was healed as though the native were a Spaniard and it is doubtful that anything worse or as bad took place before the *Cholos* came in 1819. This Catalina must have had particular charm. She had been the mission's first bride. She had a Spanish colonial soldier lined up before her Indian husband was dead. She lost her second consort in the Indian attack at the Colorado July 18, 1781, and by September 30, 1782, when she was twenty-nine years old, she was a bride again. This time the groom was California's first resident Italian, Antonio María Alegre, aged forty-two, a native of Costa-Bachelega, Republic of Genoa, and a soldier of the *cuera*.

73

A Sorry Year . . .

Things went very poorly for good Father Serra and his confreres in 1781. Neve's new regulations for the territory took provisional effect January 1. The sections relating to the missions could have made Franciscan continuance in California impossible. As time went on they were found unenforceable. Carmel's crops failed entirely and no supply ship arrived. The Colorado disaster left sorrowing friends at Monterey. About fifteen per cent of the neophytes perished and the angel of death did not spare the whites. Not a single gentile was baptized.

But as the year wore on there were four notes of encouragement: news arrived by way of Manila that missionaries were coming for foundations on the Santa Barbara Channel, Neve's ban on confirmations was lifted, the unruly Ensen Indians gave signs that they would accept Christianity, and an irrigation system was completed at Carmel.

Mayordomo Vallejo . . .

Father Dumetz began helping with the farming in the fall of 1780 and May 1, 1781 the mission hired Don Ignacio Vallejo as steward at a yearly salary of two hundred *pesos* cash and other considerations. He had come to California as a soldier with Rivera but obtained a leave soon afterwards to take charge of the crops at San Luis Obispo. It was from the latter mission that he transferred to Carmel.

Father Crespi was at work bringing water for irrigation by a ditch from the Carmel River. Vallejo saw and approved the padre's project. But when this ditch was about to be completed Don Ignacio, without consulting anyone, abandoned it and set the workmen to digging a new trench which tapped the river only a few *varas* above Father Crespi's opening. As a result, the corn which the priest had planted with the hope of having water reach it in time was all lost and Vallejo spent seven months finishing the new canal. It proved a success and by December it was carrying water. The wheat and barley matured despite the 1781 drought, but because of the carelessness of the steward only half of it was harvested.

In the mission granaries Father Noriega found about eight hundred and twenty-five bushels of the two grains but some of it

had been brought from Santa Clara. A frost at Easter, '79, had ruined the fields of San Antonio and in all likelihood Carmel had come to the rescue, thus cutting into its own reserve.

When the *Santiago* got back to San Blas from her 1780 voyage she was dispatched to Lima for quicksilver because the war had cut off the Spanish supply. The *Favorita* and a packet boat, which came from Manila to replace the *San Antonio*, were at San Blas but the latter vessel was found unseaworthy and some war measure prevented the *Favorita* from sailing. As a result no *memorias* (mission provisions) reached California, and Carmel found herself without her second source of food.

74

The Colorado Disaster . . .

In the latter part of August the sad news of the Colorado Indian massacre reached Monterey. The missionary and colonization project in that district had been pushed through despite the warnings of the missionaries. The flaws in the project created Indian enmity as the padres had foretold. Four Franciscans lost their lives. None were Fernandinos but two were known in California, Fathers Garcés and Díaz, both of whom had been with Anza. The soldiers and colonists who resided in the foundations and who perished were not Californians, but their family names make it evident that many of them were relatives of people who had come with Anza. By an accident some Montereyans also perished. The same Rivera who had formerly ruled California brought overland in June, '81, forty recruits and their families for the founding of Los Angeles and Santa Barbara. Governor Neve sent Sergeant Robles with six men, probably all from Monterey, to meet the Rivera Expedition. After crossing the Colorado, the commander sent the people on to San Gabriel under an eleven man escort and he recrossed the river with an equal number including the Monterey soldiers. The stock belonging to the recruits was in no form to go on and Rivera intended to recondition it before proceeding to San Gabriel.

July 17 the Yuma Indians attacked the two new establishments. On the eighteenth they crossed the river and set upon Rivera. Although the soldiers put up a brave fight their opponents were too numerous. Rivera and all his men perished on the spot. Those who had certainly come from Monterey or who had at one time been

stationed there were Juan Robles, Tomás Camacho, Nicolás Beltran, Francisco Peña, José Joaquín Espinosa, and Victoriano Cervantes.

Confirmation Trips Renewed . . .

It was August 16, 1781, before a letter from de Croix dated May 19 assured Father Serra that no hindrance would be put to his confirming. By reason of crop failures that year Father Dumetz had to go to Santa Clara for seed and wheat from which to make bread and the hosts. He planned his trip so as to be with his northern confreres for the feast of Santa Clara, August 12. Father Noriega who had been at San Francisco accompanied him on the return to Carmel where both arrived in early September.

The Father President lost little time in renewing his confirmation tours. Taking Father Noriega as a companion, he went to San Antonio where they arrived September 28. They were back in Carmel for the feast of St. Francis. Father Noriega had come down because he had not yet seen Monterey or San Antonio. On the other hand, Father Crespi had not got a look at the northern missions. So Fray Junípero left Father Noriega at Carmel and set out for the north with his beloved disciple Father Crespi. They arrived at the establishment of their father, Saint Francis, October 28. November 9 they were back at Santa Clara. Their visit at the mission of their mother, Saint Clare, lasted ten days. On the nineteenth, after the cornerstone had been laid for this mission's new church, the two travelers set out for home. That same day the venerable Father President was thrown by his mule but continued on his way. He was still in pain three weeks later. 75

Close of a Sad Triennium . . .

The padres had not made a single convert in 1781. Father Palou does say that Father Serra was consoled during the time he was refraining from confirming by many gentiles who came from afar seeking baptism, and that he did instruct and baptize several of them. The Carmel records, however, contradict the last part of this statement. They show that it was in the year 1782 that the Ensens and Jojopans began to arrive at the mission. Father Palou seems never entirely wrong. No doubt these nations were manifesting interest in 1781, but the padres were too short of provisions just then to accept them for instruction and baptism. 76

Deaths and an Execution . . .

The grim reaper wrought terrible havoc during the whole triennium. In 1779 the neophytes were decimated. Thirty-nine received Christian burial but there is nothing to indicate an epidemic. Losses among the whites were proportionate, one sailor and four soldiers. In 1780 it was more than decimation; forty-one neophytes and one *mestizo* perished, but still no indication of a plague. 1781 was even worse; sixty-one Christian Indians and five whites were lost. There may have been an epidemic in the first three months of this year. Don Juan Soler, the storekeeper, was buried in the Monterey church February 19, 1781.

Juan Antonio Labra, a *cuera* sodier, had the dishonor of being the first person legally condemned to death and executed in Monterey (and probably in California). The four Indian chiefs sentenced at San Diego were not legally condemned and so far as is known were not executed. Poor Juan's crime was robbery, but few men reach the scaffold for one crime after a life well spent. Juan may have been one of the lads from San Diego who had often spent time in the stocks. He died before a firing squad after the reception of the sacraments and was buried in the presidio chapel October 14, 1781.

77

The Christian Indians . . .

The fathers had baptized, since the beginning, six hundred and twenty-five Indians and buried two hundred and fifteen of them. This would have us expect that the year 1781 would leave four hundred and ten natives. Although Father Serra confirmed even infants and certainly every Indian under mission influence, only three hundred and sixty-eight had received this sacrament by the end of the year. This means that forty-two are unaccounted for. Probably a dozen of them were in other missions. The rest were fugitives or had died among the gentiles. Although forty-two were missing at the end of '81, it does not mean that the padres never again heard of them. Several pinched by hunger or caught by sickness returned to their father's house.

Neve had consistently refused to go after deserters. Father Serra pointed out to him that apart from the fact that these fugitives suffered spiritual damage there were other reasons why they

should be brought back: they had broken the contract which they had made freely at baptism, many had abandoned wives and children, they were a bad example before other Christians especially those punished for offences, they were no advertisement among the pagans for either the faith or the mission, and instead of hunting and seed gathering for food they were stealing mission stock and produce. Neve turned a deaf ear. So far as we know the governor made but one trip for Indians. This was into the Zanjones to have a widow return her Christian children for instructions. The lady came with them and when she asked for baptism the governor was her godfather.

78

Causes . . .

Father Serra by hyperbole throws all the blame on Neve for the sad state of things at Carmel. When we read Neve's laments it is Father Serra who ruins everything. The governor, no doubt, merits censure, while the president never did distinguish himself as a diplomat when dealing with his immediate civil superiors. Today we see that the padre was right and just in his demands, but devoid of tact in his approach to the various magistrates. Yet apart from this, the sad state of mission affairs at the end of 1781 was due to nature and distant war and scarcely at all to Governor Neve or Father President Serra. Each of these exaggerated the blame of the other and when it all simmers down Father Serra finds that Neve does not bring back fugitives or he lets soldiers go unchecked. The records indicate that not one Indian in fifteen is a fugitive and that in the long run even the black sheep returns, while soldiers got mixed up with Carmel Indian women on less than half a dozen occasions in fifty years. It is very doubtful that at any time or in any place have soldiers been more decent among aborigines than was the Monterey garrison in Father Serra's time.

Famine . . .

It is certain that all the three hundred and sixty-eight faithful Christian Indians did not live at the mission; in fact, most of them dwelt in five Carmeleño *rancherías*. In his report of December, 1781, Father Serra gives the number of male Indians, eighteen years of age and older, living in these *rancherías* as ninety-six, all but five married and living with their wives and children. This

means that ninety-one families or practically all the mission Indians lived largely on their own resources.

The 1781 crop was a failure. Only the wheat and barley matured and even these yielded but half of what was expected. The cattle had not yet reached sufficient numbers to be of any use for food and no ship came from Mexico. It is little wonder that the Christian Indians had to be sent away and that catechumens could not be received.

79

Father Crespi's Death . . .

To fill to the brim the cup of Fray Junípero's sorrow Father Crespi, his beloved countryman, pupil, and companion, was taken ill soon after their return from San Francisco. The sickness was of short duration and fatal. The humble little padre left this earth New Year's Day, 1782, and his body was laid to rest on the gospel side of the sanctuary in Carmel's church. Father Serra performed the obsequies and recorded the death in these simple words: "He received the sacraments of penance, Eucharist, and extreme unction on the last day of December. Fortified by these and with the comforting presence of two companions of the same (Mallorca) province, he died about six in the morning with all the signs of a true religious. He was aged sixty years and ten months and had worn the religious habit forty-four years." It is well that his obituary was so simple, for Father Crespi was a simple man, not learned, humble, obedient, uncomplaining, never dissatisfied with his lot, very fond of his poor Indians, yet, with all, leaving for man to see scarce a ripple on the ocean of time. Some say that when a saint dies in the midst of spiritual desolation one proof of his sanctity is sudden change from desolation to consolation. If this be true, we have at least one reason to consider Father Crespi a saint. From almost the moment of his death to the eighteenth year thereafter the spiritual conquest flourished, the land and stock became fecund, and peace reigned between the local leaders of Church and State.

Father Serra's Stone Church . . .

Father Serra had his mind set on a new church. Stone had already been brought from the quarry and it was planned to start the foundation December 16, 1781. Whether the first stone was laid on that date or later we do not know. Either work on the building progress-

ed very slowly and with long interruptions, or the edifice soon gave way to another. Padres and Indians were just completing a stone church eleven years later. In December, 1792, Vancouver saw them at this work. The church was dedicated a fortnight after the Englishman left Monterey, that is, February 2, 1793. In all likelihood it is the cross surmounted building to the left in the Vancouver engraving. It was not the stone church now in use. 80

VII

The Golden Era of Spiritual Conquest

(6 Years 1782 - 1787)

Real missionary progress at Carmel began in 1782 and continued till 1796. First Father Serra and then Father Noriega were the guiding spirits. The latter had been assistant and on Father Serra's death in 1784 he took over and for the most part worked alone. All but two or three of the wandering Christians returned to the mission and many gentiles from the Santa Lucia Mountains, Big Sur River, and Salinas Valley presented themselves for instructions.

Neve turned the governorship over to Fages. This was a blessing to the padres though they did not recognize it. Father Serra's place as mission president was filled by Father Lasuén and this, too, made for more harmony between Church and State. The arrival of a French expedition broke the monotony, and the prospect of wealth from otter skins interested the missionaries.

Change of Priests . . .

Fray Matías Antonio de Santa Catalina y Noriega succeeded to the post left vacant at Father Crespi's death. This included the assumption of Father Dumetz' duties as director of agriculture and stock raising. Vallejo continued as steward till harvest time in 1782. The padres were much displeased with his carelessness and waste in gathering in the crops. He got permission to go to San Luis Obispo and left before the wheat had been gathered into the barns. He did not return.

In February Governor Neve notified the Father President that the time had come to found the channel missions and presidio and that four missionaries should be made available. The padre had only two supernumeraries but he was expecting six priests on the transport. He decided to serve in person at one of the new places till help should appear, so he set out about March 3 for the meeting place, San Gabriel. En route he confirmed at San Antonio and at San Luis Obispo; also upon his arrival at San Gabriel.

Meanwhile, Father Cambón, restored to health, had returned to California and was at San Diego awaiting an appointment. He was ordered to San Gabriel whence he and Father Serra went with the governor. San Buenaventura was founded March 31. In the meantime (March 26), a note reached Neve saying that Lieutenant Colonel Fages had arrived at San Gabriel with orders that he and the governor should set out on a third Colorado campaign. This news induced Neve to delay Santa Barbara Mission but he did establish the presidio of that name April 21 and quartered there troops from Monterey. Between these two accomplishments he had gone to San Gabriel and agreed with Fages that the Colorado venture should be delayed till September.

Father Serra seeing that a second mission would not materialize put the troops under the spiritual care of Father Fuster of San Juan Capistrano and left Father Cambón alone at the new mission. There was a pack train going north, so Fray Junípero took advantage of it and headed for home. May 12 he confirmed at San Luis Obispo and the sixteenth at San Antonio. On the seventeenth, the vigil of Pentecost, he was welcomed at Carmel by his neophytes. Father Cavaller came from San Luis Obispo to Carmel either with the president or soon after.

Fages decided that while awaiting the fall campaign he would visit all the California foundations. He had been at San Francisco for three days in mid-June and Father Santa María may have come in his party to Monterey. At any rate, on June 29 Carmel was a crossroad. Fathers Dumetz and Santa María were just starting out to take charge of San Buenaventura and Father Cavaller was ready to go with them to San Luis Obispo. Father Cambón was thus allowed to return to his first love, San Francisco. The three padres may have gone south in Fages' company. 81

Provisions and Disturbing News . . .

The *Favorita* and *Princesa* had arrived at San Francisco May 13, 1782, and discharged the provisions for that district. The Monterey mail was dispatched thence overland and Father Serra's parcel reached him as he approached the capital May 17. The news was quite a blow to the president and his fellow laborers. No priests had come for the channel missions and none was to be expected as things stood. The reason made matters worse. The Fernandinos, both as individuals and as a group, had gently but most firmly refused to co-operate with the government in the execution of the de Croix-Neve plan of spiritual conquest, and there would be no new missions till the traditional Fernandino system would be re-established in law, as well as in fact. Carmel, however, was concerned with the news only insofar as it meant that the mission would have to get along with two padres instead of three.

Early in July the two vessels anchored at Monterey and discharged cargo for that district. July 10 the captain of the *Princesa* was over to see Father Serra and no doubt then arranged for the confirmation of some members of both crews. On the fourteenth we find officers and crews in Carmel. At the high Mass, sung by the Father President, Dons Miguel Dávalos and José Valverde, chaplains to the vessels, acted as deacon and subdeacon. Immediately afterwards six Montereyans and twenty-seven sailors were confirmed. Among the latter are the earliest listed French and Chinese visitors.

The barks left in due time and unloaded provisions at both Santa Barbara and San Diego. On them went a request from Father Serra to the guardian that two friars be sent, one for Carmel and one to fill in wherever sickness or death might strike. 82

Spiritual Conquest Renewed . . .

With Father Serra home and provisions on hand, no time was lost in locating the natives who yesteryear had expressed the desire to become Christians. The first prospects arrived early in July, '82. They were from Ensen, alias Zanjones. In August recruits were coming from Jojopan, alias Sargenta Ruc. Among the children presented were a son and a daughter of Chilichón, chief of Jojopan. The son was by Pajalá, the daughter by another wife. During the last half of 1782 sixteen Ensen and fifty-two Jojopan Indians were baptized.

As usual the children under nine years of age were baptized upon presentation, while their parents and older brethren set to work to learn the essential tenets of the faith. The fact that so little time elapsed between the baptism of children and that of adults seems to indicate that considerable instruction must have been given in the *rancherías*. The padres seldom went there personally but the notions of religion would have been conveyed by interpreters acting as catechists. Some interpreters (women) stayed at the mission, others (men) are noted as accompanying the padre when he did visit the gentiles. Others again resided permanently in one or other gentile village. These last probably served as good will agents and catechists.

The reason for the failure of the padres to visit much in the wilds is found in the instructions given Fages by Neve and followed by both men. Only two soldiers were to accompany a padre when the latter went among the gentiles and the soldiers were to be back in their quarters before dark.

83

The Angel of Death . . .

This year's death toll was the greatest so far: about one out of every six neophytes for a total of sixty-nine. All but six were Carmeleños and half of them under fifteen years of age. There is no evidence of an epidemic. On the other hand, the wandering neophytes had not been collected into the mission *ranchería* in any great numbers until after the fall harvest. The extraordinary number of deaths in these years seems to disprove the contention made by some that confinement at the mission resulted in a high native death rate. On the contrary the noticeably lower death rate in the following years

indicated that, everything being equal, the Indian fared much better under the padre's roof.

84

A New Governor . . .

In August dispatches from de Croix made Neve inspector of presidios under the commander general and Fages, governor of the Californias. Both men were on the way to the Colorado but they called off the campaign. The new governor returned to San Diego whence he proceeded north from mission to mission. He passed through Monterey, probably early in October, and went on to the northern establishments. He was back in his capital some time before Christmas.

Neve in his parting memorial to his successor recommended a continuance of his own policy in mission and other matters, but Fages, despite the lack of trust placed in him by the padres, proved himself capable of forgetting the past. He did not take Neve's recommendations too seriously. At each mission he urged fugitive neophytes to return, promising immunity to those who obeyed and punishment to those who did not or who might cause trouble. Great numbers returned to their father's house. As far as Carmel was concerned the absence of nearly all neophytes was caused by economic reasons as has been noted. But even that mission had a few voluntary fugitives as we shall see.

85

The Conquest Grows . . .

The rebirth of the spiritual conquest and active civilization of the converts which began in 1782 continued with increased vigor through the next year; in fact, Father Serra calls 1783 "el mas feliz (año) de la mision." Recruits kept coming from Ensen and Jojopan while gradually the Carmeleños were gathered back around San Carlos Church. Only forty-seven Excelen Indians had been baptized during the first missionary period. These seem to have been reluctant to yield their Christian children for instruction and even the adults may not have been attracted to the idea of dwelling with their despised enemies, the Rumsens. At any rate there was a fracas between some men of the mountains and the soldiers. In it a few of the former lost their lives. This seems to have been early in '83. Afterwards and early in '84 practically all Excelen wanderers returned and many of their gentile brethren joined the catechumens

and were baptized. Among the latter was Juttis, chief of the nation, his wife, Exmutx, and their two children. Another wife, Seleta, whom he had abandoned, also became a Christian. A younger brother of this chief and a son by Seleta had been baptized already in 1776.

In the fall of 1783 the gentiles of Locuyusta, alias Kalenda Ruc, began to appear at the mission. Forty-three of them were baptized by Christmas.

A careful check of the Carmel vital records shows that during Father Serra's lifetime there had been baptized nine hundred and sixty-nine Monterey Indians of whom three hundred and forty-four had died, only two of them in apostasy. Probably not more than a dozen others had voluntarily absconded for a time. Of the six hundred and twenty-five remaining, all but nineteen were in contact with the Carmel padres. Three of these had been baptized on their deathbeds and probably never recovered. One or two were living in apostasy; one or two were at San Francisco. One other adult and twelve children make up the balance. Some of them were likely at one of the other missions. The rest, no doubt, had died unknown to the missionaries as their parents were not Christians.

Father Noriega tells us that in these years there were always about the mission some seven hundred Indians, including dozens of gentiles. These latter were around either out of curiosity or to visit Christian relatives. Both residents and visitors ate at the mission. On the other hand, the return of the wanderers to the protection of the padres cut drastically the number of deaths and this despite an increase of two hundred and seventy-eight in the Christian population. In '83 only thirty-one Indians died, and of these one was a resident of the presidio, and five died in the wilds. 86

Civilization . . .

To what extent the civilization of the converts had progressed is not entirely evident. Of the six hundred and fourteen persons living at the mission July 1, 1784, one hundred and twenty spoke Spanish well enough to confess in it. The rest did their best to make themselves understood as the padres could not speak the native dialects.

The first sacristans and acolytes were Lower Californians but for some time now Carmeleños had replaced them. There had been

formed a creditable native choir. The first interpreters and catechists also had been from the Jesuit missions and no doubt one or the other still so served, but the bulk of this work was now being done by natives of Carmel Valley. As had been the case with the Lower Californians we now find native male interpreters married to Christian natives of gentile *rancherías* and living there with their families. Francisco José of Achasta, for example, dwelt in Jojopan and, so far as can be made out, acted as a good will agent, catechist, and interpreter. Whether any interpreter had yet learned to write is not evident. In 1791 Juan, interpreter for the Excelen language, signs his name and affixes thereto his curlicue in an excellent hand. The *alcaldes* at this period, Athanasio and Carlos Juan, were both from Tucutnut. Bernardino de Jesús, the first Carmel Christian, was *fiscal* of the church.

José Antonio, Donato, and others learned the blacksmith trade; Casimiro, ten year old son of Semquel, a native of Mission Santa Clara de Thamien, was apprentice to the presidio carpenter; and Tomás María, a Carmeleño, is spoken of in '85 as a carpenter. In 1783 we find the first mention of native *ladino* Indians. These were natives who, in the judgment of Church and State, were able to care for themselves. The first noted is José María, the sacristan (June 12, 1783); the other, Jacinta, the interpreter (December 29, 1783). In this same year we find some Indians tilling their own little plots of land. These are listed as Lower Californians, *alcaldes*, *regidores*, and farm hands.

Several Indians had developed into first-rate *vaqueros*, much to the disgust of Fages and despite the Law of the Indies which forbade the training of Indians in the use of the horse. This was because it was feared that with the horse they might become warriors like the Apaches. The padres countered justly that there were no foreigners to serve as cowboys and that Monterey Indians lacked Apache tendencies.

Other Carmel Indians are listed as shepherds, gardeners, harvesters, diggers, or as specializing in some such very simple occupation.

87

The Fields and Stock . . .

The year 1782 was just passable for the crops. It was the first year



CARMEL IN 1786

La Pérouse Expedition Sketch

in which the fields were irrigated and a very dry one. Vallejo had planted the wheat where it could not be watered so the crop was very short. In harvesting, too, the steward had wasted considerable produce. One hundred and eleven *fanegas* had been sowed and eight hundred and eighty-nine were gathered.

Father Noriega who took charge of the farm knew his business. He was not satisfied with the system used by his predecessors, including Vallejo. This may have been one reason for the latter's departure. The priest found that before his time everything had been planted in rows and the seeds in clusters and too close to the surface; also, that the fields were not well plowed and harrowed. As a result, weeds were abundant, the shoots came up too closely together and, if there was no rain in April, the roots being on the surface dried up.

In 1783 the father used his own system. Plowing more deeply and cleaning the fields well, he planted the wheat and barley broadcast on the level ground, and the maize, beans, and peas in rows with the seed well spaced. From only eighty-four and a fraction *fanegas* of seed there were produced about three thousand. Of this amount twenty-six hundred and thirty-one *fanegas* were gathered into the mission barns. There was considerable volunteer barley in one field. The Indians were permitted to reap it for themselves. Then, too, the gentiles from Excelen and Sargenta Ruc had helped with the harvest this year and were paid in grain, while not a little was let lie in the fields which in a bad year the padres would have carefully gathered in. In '84 still less was planted: fifty-six and a fraction *fanegas* from which twenty-four hundred and forty-three were reaped.

This priest also saw to it that each year a little more land would be cleared and brought under cultivation. By 1784 the arable land was enough for the sowing of one hundred *fanegas* of grain. He also made a fine large garden in which there were both vegetables and fruit trees.

The hogs did not do well these years. It was impossible to keep the Indian boys from killing the suckling pigs. In '84 there were but twenty-five head all told. The cattle had reached five hundred and twenty-eight head and was destined to go on increasing slowly. The padres would slaughter a few less than the number born each

year, and now and then the Indians would steal one or two head. There were twenty mules in service and the horse herd numbered eighty-two. There would have been more but eight wandered off, some died, and still others were killed for food by hungry gentile and fugitive Christian Indians.

In July, 1782, the irrigation canal was extended till its waters emptied into the pool by the padres' residence. This was a great convenience, for this pool used to go dry some years. Now it was always full and made a fine fish warren. 88

A New Priest . . .

June 2, 1783, the packet, *San Carlos El Filipino*, and the frigate, *Favorita*, arrived at San Francisco. They had brought the two new missionaries sought by Father Serra: Fathers Rioboo and Noboa. Father Palou as usual sent the news overland at once to Carmel, and there came back from the president an order for the newcomers to proceed by land to Monterey. Father Diego Noboa was installed as assistant at San Carlos on or before August 4, 1783. The barks reached Monterey before July 26, on which day the Father President confirmed nineteen members of their crews. The Guadalajara diocesan priests, José Nava and José Valverde, were chaplains on the vessels.

On the afternoon of August 4, accompanied by Father Rioboo, the president boarded the *San Carlos* and went by sea to Santa Barbara and afterwards on the same vessel to San Diego, whence leaving behind his companion he came back by land, confirming at each mission. September 14, in San Diego, he celebrated the fifty-third anniversary of his investiture as a Franciscan. He left San Gabriel the morning of November 9 and reached San Carlos December 17, *felizamente, sea Dios alabado*, as he remarks. 89

The Governor's Family . . .

In March, '83, Don Pedro Fages had gone down to Loreto to meet his wife and their little son and bring them back with him to the capital. All arrived at Monterey early in January, 1784. On the eighteenth Don Pedro José Fages, the three year old son of the governor and of his wife, Doña Eulalia de Calliz, both Catalonians, was confirmed by Father Serra at Carmel. 90

Father Serra's Last Tour . . .

The Father President's faculties for confirmation were to terminate July 16, 1784. The governor had in mind to take his family to San Francisco for a while. Doña Eulalia was some five months along with child. Father Serra no doubt made his last trip to the north at the same time. He confirmed at Santa Clara on May 2, 3, and 4. Father Murguia, minister of Santa Clara, was taken seriously ill on the night of the third. The Father President's time was limited, however, so he had to go on to San Francisco where he confirmed on May 9. He sent Father Palou that same day to Santa Clara to be with Father Murguia, who died the eleventh. By the thirteenth all available San Franciscans had received the sacrament and Father Serra returned to Santa Clara.

On May 16, the Franciscan feast of the dedication of the Basilica of St. Francis at Assisi, the new church at Santa Clara was used for the first time. Father Serra sang the Mass which the soldiers accompanied with salvos of firearms. He stayed at Santa Clara till May 24, singing meanwhile the Mass of the seventh day for the repose of Father Murguia's soul. He had the consolation of being assured that every living person so far baptized at Santa Clara was confirmed. This record was not duplicated elsewhere. Did the prayers of good Father Murguia on the other side account for the fact? The Father President left Santa Clara the morning of May 24 and we find him confirming at Carmel May 30. Father Noboa was sent to assist at Santa Clara and left between June 7 and 13. 91

Father Serra's Death . . .

Having returned to his own mission, Father Serra in five ceremonies (the last held July 6) confirmed the available remnant of his flock. His last baptism was that of the infant, Estefana, on August 2. The old man's letters about this time indicate that he realized the end was approaching. Father Palou tells us that the reason his superior called him and other nearby padres to Carmel in August was that the former might prepare him for death, and that a last farewell might be taken of the others.

The supply ship, *San Carlos*, had reached San Francisco in late July or early August and, as was customary, Father Palou sent the mail overland to the president. There had come, among other

documents which no doubt pained the ailing Fray Junípero, a mandate recalling Father Palou to Mexico. This priest had been so determined to leave California that he had gone over the heads of his immediate civil and ecclesiastical superiors and appealed to Gálvez in Spain. Although Father Serra was left free to use his own judgment as to the time for delivery of Father Palou's release, he apparently sent it back at once to his friend and requested that he come immediately to Carmel. It was the intention of both men that Father Palou should return to Mexico on the supply ship.

Father Palou came by land and reached Carmel August 18; on the twenty-third the packet boat anchored at Monterey. Without thought of himself Father Serra made all the plans necessary for Father Palou's trip, but God did not intend that they should bear fruit. On the nineteenth Father Palou had to say the monthly Mass in honor of St. Joseph, for Fray Junípero was too unwell. The ship's physician, Don Juan García, took charge of the case. The ailment was diagnosed as internal tumors of the breast. The breathing grew constantly more difficult. Cauterization of the chest did not help. His death agony commenced the twenty-sixth but despite his discomfort he insisted on personally cutting up some cloth that came on the ship and giving it to the needy Indians.

The morning of the twenty-seventh he went the hundred *varas* from his cell to the church, and there kneeling in the presence of the *cuera* soldiers and Indians he received Viaticum. Later the same day Señor Rodríguez, the presidio carpenter, came and measured him for his coffin; this at the padre's own request. That night he was anointed. Next day, August 28, he felt a little better. In the morning Captain José Cañizares and Don Cristóbal Díaz, chaplain, both of the *San Carlos*, came to visit with him.

At one o'clock in the afternoon, after he had finished his office, he took a bit of broth and went to his cell for a little rest. About an hour later Father Palou went to the room. The Apostle of California had meanwhile breathed his last. He lay as if sleeping on his bed (some boards with a blanket over them) and embracing his crucifix. He died August 28, 1784, four days after his seventy-ninth birthday, within four weeks of the fifty-fourth anniversary of his entrance into the Franciscan order, and in the thirty-sixth year of his missionary labors.

The Burial . . .

He had died in his habit, cowl, and cord and these formed his shroud. The body was placed in the coffin and while it lay in his cell in state with six candles about it, the neophytes came and covered it with flowers. This was a fitting tribute to him whose writings in life betrayed so great a love for these bright creatures of God. That night the body was taken to the church in procession between lines of neophytes, soldiers, and sailors, and a night watch was kept.

The funeral took place next day, Sunday, the twenty-ninth. Everyone was present except the few sailors who guarded the bark and fired salvos every half hour, and a few soldiers who answered the salvos from the presidio. The only Franciscans who were there at the time of his death were Fathers Palou and Noriega. Father Sitjar arrived in time for the funeral. Father Palou, assisted by the chaplain of the frigate, Don Cristóbal Díaz, and Father Sitjar of San Antonio, chanted the vigil. Immediately afterwards Father Palou, assisted by Chaplain Díaz and Father Noriega, sang the requiem Mass. Father Sitjar and the Indian choristers formed the choir.

At four in the afternoon the coffin was carried in procession around the plaza so as to give all the officers of land and sea the honor of having borne such precious remains to their last resting place. Burial followed in the sanctuary of the church then in use, before the altar of Our Sorrowful Mother, on the gospel side, and next to the grave of Father Crespi. There is no record that the body was moved when the new church was built, so very likely the vaults still seen in the present church already existed from the time of Father Crespi's death. This would mean that the stone church was so located that it automatically placed them in its sanctuary.

Father Palou tells us that there was great sorrow among the neophytes and non-Indian population. All present at the funeral were given remembrances in the form of articles that had been used by the venerable priest or pieces from one of his habits.

Father Paterna of San Luis Obispo, who had not been able to arrive for the funeral, joined the others for the ceremonies of the seventh day. A solemn requiem Mass marked this occasion and some who had not been able to be at the funeral then received

mementos of Father Serra. The governor was still in San Francisco, so the highest civil official at the obsequies was Don Nicolás Soler, adjutant inspector of presidios, who happened to be in Monterey at the time.

93

Father Serra's Work at Carmel . . .

Nine hundred and sixty-nine Monterey Indians were baptized before Father Serra's death. He had personally poured the saving waters on five hundred and twenty of them. Of the whole number he lost but two by death as apostates, and two renegades at most survived him. About half of those baptized (four hundred and sixty-five) were old enough to receive instruction before baptism. This fruit was not produced by direct contact between the padres and the Indians but rather as the result of probably one hundred "satisfied customers." The key ages for contact were fifteen to forty years. Three hundred and twenty-four between these ages had become Christians, but most of them were inter-related by blood or marriage. The one hundred odd original contacts brought in their children, parents, relatives, and friends.

If we are to judge by the complaints of the padres we must say that the soldiers and their families did not give much consolation to their spiritual fathers. Nevertheless, some of these people were very good, as were all the mission servants, and everybody, good and bad, seems to have kept within the pale of the Church by annual confession and Communion. One wonders if he should place all blame on the soldiers for their lukewarmness. They and their fathers before them had grown up on the frontiers where circumstances were not very favorable for the normal development of Christian virtues. The only spiritual fathers they had even known were the missionaries of religious orders who had spiritual care of the same districts. It was their own spiritual sons about whom the padres now complained.

While it is possible that Father Serra admitted one or other Indian to the reception of Holy Communion there seems to be no evidence to substantiate this. The death records clearly show that no neophyte who died in Father Serra's time was given Viaticum. The teaching of the Church about the amount of intelligence and devotion necessary for admission to the Sacred Banquet was the

same then as now. The Indians were typical Central Californians such as other priests later encountered in the Sierra Nevada Mountains. All adults among these latter were given Communion. It was probably a policy of San Fernando College which guided Father Serra in the matter.

The good father had the happiness before his death of seeing his mission in excellent material condition, economically secure, and free of all debt. The cattle numbered over five hundred head, the sheep and goats two hundred and twenty, draft animals one hundred and twenty-nine, and pigs twenty-five. The land had been cleared to the point where it could produce food for all the Indians of the neighborhood. In this regard his one worry was clothing. It grieved him to see such nakedness, yet he did not have enough sheep for the mission to do its own spinning and weaving. The natives kept stealing the sheep and goats, hence their numbers had not increased in the three years before Father Serra's death.

Adobe had completely replaced wooden poles as a building material, but tile had not yet been introduced. The church 40 x 8 *varas*, the three room priests' residence, two fine barns 50 *varas* long, the 30 *vara* combination workshop, *monjeria*, and hospice were the best structures. All were adobe with Mexican thatched roofs. The buildings used by the blacksmiths and carpenters, as well as that in which the women ground the grain and in which cheese was made, were adobe, but with flat earthen roofs. Wood, chicken, and cart sheds, also the kitchen and the house in which the Mexican blacksmith and his family lived, were likewise of adobe with flat earthen roofs. The pens for sheep, goats, and pigs were adobe, but cattle and horse corrals were stake fences.

Father Serra did not live to see a new stone church. He mentions the plans for it on his deathbed when speaking of where his remains should lie, but humbly enough he did not ask for any particular spot in it. 94

Father Serra's Character . . .

The name of Fray Junípero Serra is so deeply cut in the rock of California history that it never can be hidden, much less erased. All other Californians to this day are mites of men beside him, nor shall he ever have a competitor in the hearts of his countrymen till that man comes who shall finish what he began: the Christianiza-

tion of California; yet had Father Serra not been co-founder of California and first president of her missions, the world would know no more of him than it does of the man who took his place in the Sierra Gorda.

The Father President was a strong-willed man, tenacious, logical, well-informed, pious, and a good, steady worker. He was neat, consistent, and accurate but often needlessly diffuse in his writings. Sometimes he gave excessive display to his religious feelings, but had otherwise reduced his body to the role of an obedient servant to the soul. He knew and loved his Franciscan brethren and they held him in high regard. The Indians looked upon him as a father. He betrayed no sign of selfishness.

On the other hand, he had a few defects which seem to spring from a lack of quick-wittedness, ingenuity, adaptability, broad-mindedness, or some such natural virtue. For example, he showed little diplomacy in dealing with civil officials and some other seculars who did not agree with him. By cold logic with a bit of sarcasm he would go after his opponent instead of taking the psychological approach. His method naturally made his victim more determined that the padre should not have his way.

Like many members of religious families he resented suggestions and criticism coming from outside the religious community and directed at members of the group or at work entrusted to its care. The outsiders were presumed malicious meddlers and their remarks were interpreted as slurs against the good name of the community. It was taken for granted that the community was almost infallible when it came to handling the work consigned to it. It would have been wiser, and no doubt productive of more good, had the padres given constructive criticism on the ideas of the governors or other outsiders.

There is noted in Fray Junípero also a certain inability to overlook or smile at trifles and to concentrate on the important issues at stake. He would consent to no change in the mission system as taken from the Sierra Gorda and planted in California. It is by no means evident that certain changes would not have been advisable. It is very hard to find any vein of humor in him, yet he must have smiled when he chose the name for the thousandth child baptized at Carmel: *Millan Deogratias* (a thousand, thanks be to God). But

he seems quite serious when, failing to learn the Rumsen tongue, he says it must be because God thus punishes him for his sins.

*"Few indeed would talkers be
Could only the sinless speak!"*

These human imperfections do not make Father Serra any less a saint but only more a man. Let him who would find sin or unworthy motives in Fray Junípero walk first in his footsteps and then take up the role of *Devil's Advocate*. 95

Father Noriega Carries On . . .

The *San Carlos* left Monterey on or about September 14. Father Palou, of course, had to defer his departure and reluctantly agreed to serve as temporary mission president. He returned about this time to his own mission and instructed Father Paterna to remain at Carmel and help Father Noriega.

The death of Father Serra in no way affected the spiritual conquest. In the latter half of '84 and all through '85 recruits kept coming in. On March 19, 1785, Chilichón, chief of Jojopan, Chapala, his eldest son, and Unique, his best friend and principal advisor, entered the Church. On the same day the chief's two wives were baptized and he chose to retain the younger, María Teresa. As she was ill, he left her at the mission where she died apparently of tuberculosis August 10, 1786. Meanwhile, the chief who had returned to his people induced the one who had been principal wife before to flee the mission and resume her position with him. She had meantime become the wife of another Christian and this act, of course, excommunicated them. Either by reason of the defection of this chief, or for some other unknown cause, recruiting from Jojopan ceased and was not renewed for twenty years, by which time the nation was practically extinct. Incidentally the fate of this group confirms other evidence that congregation of the Indians at the mission was not the cause of their disappearance.

In 1783 a native of Rancheria Mutsun in the hills of Natividad between the Salinas and the Pajaro Rivers became a Christian, and in '85 seven of his relations joined him in the new faith. July 23, 1785, Callán, aged fifteen, son of Taxiaca, chief of Rancheria Pichis in the district called by the Carmeleños Sargenta Ruc, was received into the Church. But the people of Pichis, like their neighbors of

Jojopan, seem not to have been religiously inclined. Very few Pichisians gave ear to the Padres. Excelen natives from a district or nation called Soledad or El Pino began to put in an appearance also in this year. The place is described as adjoining Eslenajan and on the borders of San Antonio Mission; therefore high in the Santa Lucia Range.

96

A Difficult Wife . . .

The governor brought his family back to Monterey in the fall of '84. It had been increased by one member, when Doña Eulalia had given birth to a daughter in August. Anacleto and María Antonia, man and wife, Lower Californians, and other Indians, none of them from Monterey, served in the governor's home and in a fine orchard and garden which Fages had planted at his personal expense and for his own pleasure. The doña had not been happy in California but Fages was not one to give in to her whims. In November she insisted that they occupy different rooms but this treatment made no impression on the man of the house. By February, Eulalia appeared to have convinced herself that her husband had taken up with an Indian maidservant and broadcast her grievance in the tiny community. The padre did his best to silence her and convince her of the rashness of her charge but to no avail.

Fages, still unmoved, was on the point of making a trip to the south and asked Father Noriega to let the wife and baby stay at the mission while he and his little son were away. The padre consented but, when on February 12 the escort of soldiers came to take her to Carmel, she locked herself and the two children in her room. The husband, however, meant business. He broke down the door and gave Eulalia the choice of going peacefully or being taken tied. She chose the former. The mission padre was not spared the humors of the doña; even in church she displayed some of her outbreaks. None the less she remained at the mission and stood sponsor for several Indian converts from February 12 till late in May or early in June, 1785. The religious atmosphere seems not to have wrought much change in the lady. It was not till about a year later that she suddenly called her husband one morning and with protests, tears, and humility confessed that all had been pretense and lies and that she herself had bribed the Indian girl to take part in the plot. At the

same time she publicly admitted her falsehoods and thenceforth, as far as we know, they lived happily.

So goes the story as gleaned from the usual sources, but the fact that Doña Eulalia gave birth to a daughter May 14, 1786, would indicate that the separation *a toro* ended when the lady returned from the mission. This child died when but eight days old and it may well have been grief over its loss that brought the mother to her senses. 97

Indian Punishment . . .

In June, '85, Father Noriega was accused of having the neophytes beaten with chains for trifling offenses. The governor, apparently without hearing the accused but doubtless after some investigation, considered the charges true and wrote to the priest asking him to use less severity. As in many other cases so here we have but one side of the story. The padre had too much success as a missionary for one to consider him unjust in his treatment of the natives.

Later in the same year the governor complained to the viceroy. Among other things the charge of cruelty in punishing offending neophytes is repeated and made to apply to those in charge of several missions. Both Fathers Palou and Lasuén flatly deny the accusation, and the latter countercharges that the California civil authorities in order to get laborers for the presidio presume to condemn offending Indians to work and that the offenses are such that by law only the padres have jurisdiction. We are in no position to judge on the merits of either side. 98

A Poor Year . . .

Fages was further angered when, September 26, Father Noriega refused to load mission grain on a pack train for the Monterey presidio. Father Lasuén's reply to the governor's accusations would lead one to suppose that the padre refused because presidio and settler produce was given a preferential market. The missions were allowed to sell stock and produce only when there was no other source from which purchase could be made. Despite this, which was the truth, a look at the crop in Carmel fields and barns as of this September makes it evident that Father Noriega would have been a fool to sell grain. 1785 was a bad year. Only six hundred and eighty-seven *fanegas* of all grains had been or would be harvested

and, as Father Noriega remarks after the harvest, he had in the barns only enough to last his flock for six months. 99

The Galleon . . .

The Manila ship stopped at Monterey in November, '85, but the mission did not sell her anything. Father Noriega and others were indeed accused to the governor of having been on board trading and of having profited to the extent of four bales of goods. This was in November, and in December the padre denied the charges. Bancroft says that this charge referred to the galleon of 1784. This is unlikely, for in that year the mission did sell twenty-six pigs to the ship. The royal orders forbidding private traffic apparently were not published at Monterey till after the 1784 visit. On November 5 (1785?) two sets of harness belonging to the mission were lost or stolen while being used by the galleon crew in transporting grain and the ship had to pay for them. The *Carmel Inventories* state specifically that the mission had no other dealings with the ship except the loan of this harness. The charge apparently was dropped. November 3, 1784, Juan Sanches, the purser, and Juan Galvan, a merchant from the 1784 galleon, the frigate, *San Felipe*, witnessed four marriages at the mission. José Cortara, a sick Mexican soldier, who had completed his enlistment on the China run, was left to recuperate at Carmel by the 1785 galleon, the *San José*. He died there January 15, 1786. 100

Indian Deaths . . .

The number of deaths in '85 and '86 again more than decimated in each year the Christian colony with a total of one hundred and thirty-eight Indian as against three white residents. Of these, seventy-two were under fifteen years of age and thirteen over sixty. Several died very shortly after baptism. About one-third of the number went in the winter of 1785-86. The scarcity of provisions no doubt helps to account for the phenomenon. It is certain that the next winter was very severe. This one, too, may have been out of the ordinary. One point that cannot be underestimated in this regard is the fact that when age or sickness began to press an Indian, whether pagan or Christian, he headed for the padres' protective mantle.

On the night of December 23, 1785, an old Indian woman was

burned to death when fire destroyed a section of the mission *rancheria* in which some fifteen persons were dwelling. The high wind prevented efforts to reach the unfortunate creature. 101

A New President . . .

The College of San Fernando had forwarded to California under date of February 6, 1785, Father Fermín Francisco Lasuén's appointment to the presidency of the California missions. The packet was addressed to Father Palou and reached him at San Francisco via the supply ship. He, no doubt, sent the document overland at once to Father Lasuén at San Diego. Fathers Giribet and Mariner, the two missionaries requested in '84, came to California in this vessel. Father Palou left the former to replace him at San Francisco and appears at Monterey with the latter early in September. Father Paterna seems to have left Carmel about May 1 and Father Noriega remained alone till January, '86, when Father Lasuén made San Carlos his headquarters. Just what day or how Father Palou left California is not noted but it was apparently on this supply ship in the month of October. Father Mariner seems to have gone down to San Diego at the same time. He replaced Father Lasuén when the latter came to Carmel.

Though Father Lasuén had his headquarters at Carmel and though he was no doubt the one ultimately responsible there, he did not receive a stipend as its minister and he was seldom at home. Wherever the interests of the Church in California required his presence, there he would be, and always he handled them quietly, efficiently, quickly, and without stirring up tempers or prejudices. 102

Foreign Visitors . . .

The *Princesa* and *Favorita* had arrived at Monterey August 27, and were still there September 14, 1786, when the French frigates, *La Boussole* and *L'Astrolabe*, entered the bay. These were the first foreign barks to break those waters or, for that matter, the first since Drake to port in California. They were under the command of Jean François Galaup de la Pérouse, whose government commission called for a round the world tour in search of scientific information. Abbé Mongés, Canon Regular and physician, was chaplain to the *Boussole*, and Père Receveur, Grey Friar (Franciscan) and trained

naturalist, cared for things spiritual on the other bark. At least three of the new missionaries who had just arrived in California via the '86 transports were at Carmel during the French visit as, of course, were Fathers Lasuén and Noriega.

The visitors landed on the fifteenth and received a hearty welcome. They were expected, for the respective superior governments had been in communication and orders had been issued to treat the foreigners as Spaniards. The padres came over the same day and invited the officers to dine with them at the mission. On the eighteenth Fages furnished horses and the party rode across the small plain covered with herds of cattle and up over the hills. They had not yet come in sight of the mission church when its bells began to peal them welcome. The neophytes had been formed in lines to make a path to the church door. There the group was met by Father Lasuén vested in his cope and with aspergillum in hand. He conducted them to the foot of the altar where he intoned the *Te Deum* in thanksgiving for the successful voyage. The Indian adults were still at their places when the Frenchmen returned to the door, but the youngsters were off playing in front of the padres' house.

We may presume that the entertainment furnished consisted of the meal under an arbor, and exhibitions by the Indians of their games and hunting tactics. Details, however, have not been preserved. Some members of the expedition returned to Carmel, or probably remained there a few days, to study the natives.

They found the church very neat though thatched with straw. Like the padres' residence and storehouses which were in front of the church, it was built of (unbaked) brick pointed with mortar. The mortar was made from sea shells as no lime had yet been discovered. To the right (apparently as one entered the church) were the fifty odd huts which housed some seven hundred and fifty natives. These were built as they had been before the Spaniards came. The church interior was ornamented with fairly good paintings, copies from Italian originals. On the side walls and opposite each other were representations of heaven and of hell. The latter reminded La Pérouse of Callot's work apparently due to so many figures and so much action in such a small space.

A threshing place was remarked. Its floor was the earth. Oxen, as well as horses and mules, served as draught animals. There were

no fireplaces or other means of heating the padres' dwelling. 103

A Day at Carmel . . .

Padres and neophytes rose with the sun and went to prayers and Mass. These lasted an hour. Meanwhile, in three large copper kettles in the middle of the plaza *atole* was cooked. This was an unsalted porridge made of barley, roasted, ground and boiled. The dwellers of each hut carried away their portion in a vessel made of bark. Pots were scraped by the children brightest in catechism.

After breakfast, which lasted three-quarters of an hour, everyone went about his work: some to the fields, others to the garden. One or two padres were always with them. The women stayed in the *rancheria*, cared for their children and the few chickens they owned, and roasted and ground the seed. This latter they did with the *metate*, a flat stone on which another stone, shaped more or less as a cylinder, was rubbed with both hands.

At noon the bells announced dinner. This consisted of a vegetable stew called *pozole*. It was a mixture of wheat, maize, peas, and beans. All rested till two p.m., and then worked till four forty-five. Prayers (rather it was catechism) followed for an hour and after them came supper which, like breakfast, consisted of *atole*.

The neophytes were permitted to hunt and fish, as well as to own chickens, and by these means they supplemented the mission rations. Beef was served them on great feast days. There was no work on Sundays or Holydays, but four or five hours were spent in church.

The first California law concerning hours of labor was decreed by the College of San Fernando in 1775 and set at seven per day, feast days excepted. Some abuses seem to have crept in later, and the same college in 1806 fixed the maximum six or seven hours daily for spring and five or six for winter, except that in the sowing and harvest seasons it might be increased if necessary. 104

A French Physician's Study . . .

Rollin, the physician (with Father Noriega of Carmel and Doctor Carvajal from the transport to help him), made certain studies of the Indians. But little difference was noted between pre-conquest and post-conquest natives. The Christians added a bit of clothes; the men, a breech cloth; little girls, a *cincture*; and the women, a

cloth shirt with sleeves. The aprons and skin cloaks which had been used in paganism were retained. Youngsters of both sexes still went naked.

It was found that the diseases which had afflicted the natives as pagans continued at the mission as no rational treatment was known or sought. The Spaniards were of the opinion that smallpox and measles were unknown in California before the occupation. The former especially found the Indian an easy victim.

The physician speaks of venereal diseases, remarking certain external manifestations, but it is not at all evident that he or anyone else had seen these evidences at Monterey. It is more likely that Rollin treats of the venereal diseases from hearsay and not from observation, and that his information refers to southern or more likely Lower Californians.

La Pérouse's Criticism . . .

The reports of the French lead one to conclude that neither spinning nor weaving had yet been introduced at Carmel. There was very slight evidence that other practical arts had been cultivated. He says that he saw Indians in the stocks and in chains and notes the lash as a third form of punishment.

While there is no justification in questioning the Frenchman's report on what he saw, there is solid ground for declaring the reasons he assigns for certain shortcomings purely gratuitous. Whether his reasoning was influenced by Voltaire (as Father Engelhardt insists), or borrowed from Governor Fages (as his text would indicate), or merely the result of his ignorance of theology (which he admits) and of political economy (which he does not mention), we do not profess to know. He thinks that the padres were not interested in improving the health and material condition of the natives and this, because the theologian was not interested in the material. On the other hand, neither he nor his pompous assistants make any practical suggestions in either line. As a matter of fact, theology did not enter the picture. It was simply a case of the padres doing the best their knowledge allowed. No priest had appeared with sufficient ability or originality to grasp or solve the problem. And the civil government, which by natural law should handle such things, contented itself with complaining about the facts but doing nothing to remedy them.

The traveler had the notion that the neophytes were chained and whipped for going off to see their pagan relatives or missing spiritual exercises. This is pure imagination. The neophytes were permitted to visit their people when they wished. Runaways, who merely departed and were not unjust or scandalous in their flight, caused the padres very little thought. The lads in the stocks were there for offenses like adultery or unprovoked quarreling. The fugitives, who were brought back and flogged, had either abandoned wives and children, were refusing to bring their children for instruction, casting snares in the path of prospective neophytes, stealing cattle, or guilty of some other such crime.

One or other padre at Carmel may have exceeded his rights and good sense in the matter of Indian chastisement. If he did, we have no real evidence of it. But whether he did, or did not, neither Spanish law nor Christian theology permitted a missionary to punish a person without the consent of the person, expressed or implied, at his reception into the Christian community, nor even thereafter, except in matters and for the motives which urge the wise father of a family to punish his wayward sons and daughters. Of course, these children of nature with their adult bodies and dull minds needed more severe chastisements than normal youngsters.

105

Remains of the French Visit . . .

Some seed potatoes from Chile and certain unnamed French seeds were left behind. The records are silent as to what became of them. M. de Langle made the padres a present of one of his semi-portable flour mills. Although with it four women could grind more seed than a hundred could handle on the *metate*, there is no evidence that it was put to use. When Vancouver arrived a decade later the *metates* still served. There now lie by the side of Carmel church two millstones which show no signs of wear. Are they part of this French mill? The only trace of the French priests is a note by Father Lasuén in one of the Carmel Mission Library volumes to the effect that it and two of its companions were a gift from the French Franciscan.

Malaspina records seeing a sketch at Carmel in 1791 representing the reception of La Pérouse at the mission. The artist was

Duché de Vancy, a member of the expedition. Beechey saw it in place in 1826 and refers to it as a drawing. It was gone in 1837 when Petit-Thouars visited Carmel. Tradition says the picture hung in the priests' residence till the late 1830's. In 1932 four Monterey pictures found in the Museo Naval, Madrid, were reproduced in Spain. One of them is a copy of the de Vancy drawing.

The voyagers went aboard ship September 22, but it was the twenty-fourth before the winds permitted their departure. The vessels and all aboard vanished without a trace in the South Pacific.

106

Monterey Physicians . . .

Don José Dávila, the surgeon, who came to California in '74, remained with his wife at Carmel Mission till about the middle of '79. Bancroft says that he then went to dwell in Monterey, but all the documents put him in San Francisco till '83. He had sought permit to depart in '81 and Neve favored his petition because the governor considered him incompetent. His first wife died at San Francisco in '80 and he married again at Santa Clara in '82. He left the territory in '83. The physician, Carvajal, who had come as ship's surgeon with the '86 transports, remained a year at Monterey because Adjutant Inspector Soler, who was unwell, induced the commander of the barks to leave him behind.

107

The Otter Skin Merchant

Don Vicente Vasadre y Vega was a passenger on the *Princesa*. He had come to California with royal sanction for his plan to make the hunting of sea otter attractive to the padres, Indians, and other inhabitants of the province. His idea was to exchange the pelts for quicksilver in Canton. Both Governor Fages and President Lasuén were most enthusiastic. Christian Indians were to give over to the padres all skins obtained and they were to be compensated with goods from Mexico. The pelts brought from two to ten pesos in California. Vasadre was in the territory but three months, yet despite the short notice he loaded one thousand and sixty otter skins on the *Princesa*. San Carlos Mission was one of the five in Upper California to send in the greatest number.

From the beginning Vasadre had wished to put the whole control of the acquisition of skins in the hands of the padres. In 1787

the regulation did establish such a system. In that year San Carlos sold two hundred and twenty skins. The regulation was then changed and the presidio *habilitados* were given exclusive right to purchase from Indians and whites. In '88 San Carlos turned over to him only seventy-six skins. The padres complained not only that the *habilitado* cheated the natives but that the allurements of easy reward was disrupting Indian mission life. In 1790 the padres were again put in control of the purchases. Meanwhile, however, Vasadre was not able to defeat the Spanish merchants who held a firm grip on trade in the Pacific. Royal regulations in this same year nullified the 1790 plans and the padres bothered no more about otters. 108

Things Spiritual and Temporal . . .

The supply ships left October 8, 1786. Later in the same month Father Lasuén, now in his sixty-sixth year, taking with him Fathers Oramas and Arroita, departed for the south to found Santa Barbara Mission. The name of Father Peña appears in the Carmel books in October and November. He was not a regular assistant. Just when Father Pascual Martínez de Arenaza, one of the new arrivals, was appointed assistant is not noted but his first entry is dated September 27, 1786. The Father President seems not to have returned to Carmel till the end of July, '87. At any rate, the bulk of the spiritual work during the period was done by Father Noriega, who besides in both years continued to look after the farm, putting into the barns seventeen hundred and twenty-seven *fanegas* of grain in '86 and fifteen hundred and ninety-eight in '87.

On the other hand, neither '86 nor '87 is marked by much spiritual activity. Only twenty-two adults were christened in the biennium. Most of them had Christian relatives and probably all had neophyte connections. Among them was José, infant son of Lutlucu, alias Chitiim, resident at Erguista and chief of Locoyusta in Kalenda Ruc. The mother of the child was a native of Ichxenta in Carmel Valley and a sister of the Christian, Miguel. To offset the lack of converts, the deaths were comparatively few, even if more than triple the modern rate. Thirty-seven succumbed. Among these were a few very old people including the famous Pechipechi, who remembered the China ships of old, and several infants. The oldsters certainly and possibly the youngsters fell victims to "the rigors of the snow and cold of this year."

October 6 the *Favorita* and *Filipino* reached Monterey on the annual visit. There had come in these ships three new padres; one of whom, Father José Señán, was made minister at San Carlos. Father Arenaza continued on as assistant. Father Noriega had completed the ten years' service for which the padres were wont to volunteer and had his permit from Church and State to return to Mexico. He was apparently quite happy at the prospect. He was unwell, played out or disgusted. At any rate, his work of instructing and baptizing natives had slackened noticeably in '86 and '87 as already noted, and he left few, if any, catechumens to his successor. He departed for home this year and likely on the ships which brought the new friars. This would have been on or about October 21, 1787.

VIII

The Golden Era of Spiritual Conquest

(7 Years 1788 - 1795)

Father Seán continued the fine work of his predecessor. The spiritual conquest went on through his entire incumbency but ended with his departure. Nearly the whole Ensen tribe moved to the mission. At both mission and presidio construction was started on the churches which serve to this day. Artisans who were responsible for these first stone edifices joined the carpenters, smiths, and farmers in opening up new fields of endeavor to interested neophytes. Weaving, too, and no doubt other arts came into being.

The Spanish foundation at Nootka (by what is now Vancouver Island, British Columbia) had its repercussions in California. Monterey Bay was a convenient port of call to vessels going and coming for the succor of the infant settlement. The awakening of British merchants to trade possibilities in the North Pacific added foreign sails to those of the nation.

The Farm and Ranch . . .

The farm and ranch entries in the *Carmel Inventories* end with the departure of Fray Matías. It is likely that neither Father Seán nor his assistant was a farmer. Vicente Briones, a retired soldier, was made steward of the mission and served many years. He must have walked in the footsteps of Father Noriega, for the crops did well and the livestock continued to increase. In 1787 the cattle numbered six hundred and nine head; by 1796 there were twenty-two hundred and eighty. The annual grain harvest usually reached about twenty-four hundred *fanegas*, or three thousand bushels.

If the estimate made by Father Noriega in 1785 correctly indicated the annual grain consumption per neophyte, namely two *fanegas*, then the padres would have been in a position to sell about one-third of each crop. But in 1797 a surplus is listed which suggests that the normal consumption was over three *fanegas* per mission resident.

110

The Conquest . . .

The very first Carmel converts were given the family names of their godparents. After 1774 this practice was discontinued and the neophytes had to be satisfied with a Christian name only. Several of the records specify that the gentile name was abandoned in favor of the Christian. Nevertheless, the abandoned name was often preserved in the registers. Father Seán, on the contrary, instituted the practice of retaining the Indian personal name and using it as the individual's last name. In March, 1788, he went further and made the Indian name of the father descend to his child. Both ideas had been started at San Antonio Mission where Father Seán took an annual vacation. In the Mexican period the priests returned to the old practice of giving and retaining only first names.

In former times neophytes were seldom admitted as sponsors at baptisms, but almost as soon as Father Seán took charge they began to be godparents of nearly all new Christians. The first Carmel neophyte to receive the Blessed Sacrament as Viaticum was Jacinta María (October 24, 1787). This, however, did not mark the beginning of a custom, for within the ten years that followed only sixteen native Indians were given this privilege. Father Lasuén writing in 1790 says that most adult Indians confessed once a year

and that many received Holy Communion, some of them twice or thrice a year. The fact that some three hundred and seven adult natives died in the eleven years and that only sixteen of them received Viaticum would indicate rather that very few were admitted to the Sacred Banquet.

The induction of new Christians, which slowed notably in '86 and '87, began to pick up in '88 and continued at a fair pace to and through the year '97. Most of the catechumens came from the *rancherías* of Excelen but toward the end of the period nearly the whole gentile remnant of the Ensen nation came to the mission. Meanwhile, many people from Kalenda Ruc were instructed and baptized, and even four or five dozen Mutsuns from the territory later given San Juan Bautista. In December, '89, Tepepis of Rancheria Culul in Kalenda Ruc renounced his *capitanía*, became a Christian with his family, and went to live at Carmel.

In 1787 Governor Fages, acting likely at the suggestion of Father President Lasuén, petitioned the authorities for carpenters, smiths, masons, and other artisans who might instruct the natives in various useful arts. This would indicate that the local superiors agreed with La Pérouse that many of the Indians could be trained. By the time government *red tape* had been cut, it was 1792 when the petition was granted.

Don Nicolás Soler had presented a plan for secularizing the missions and the superior government requested the reactions of the governor. Despite his petty quarrels with the religious, Don Pedro showed himself the man that he was. The truth of his reply is borne out by all contemporary evidence. It was to the effect that the neophytes were unfit for citizenship, that the Law of the Indies prevented Spaniards from taking their lands, and that in justice to the padres he was forced to say that the rapid and gratifying progress, both spiritual and temporal, was the effect of their zeal, activity, and ardor.

111

The Monterey Fire and New Presidio . . .

In 1788 the *Princesa* and *San Carlos* had been sent to Alaska to check on the extent of Russian occupation. On her return the former vessel was at Monterey from September 17 to October 14, during which time her supplies were replenished. In the meantime, Octo-

ber 4, the *Aranzazu* arrived with the annual cargo for the missions and presidio. The *San Carlos*, which in '88 had returned from Alaskan waters direct to San Blas, brought the *memorias* to the north in '89. Don José María Díaz, a diocesan priest, was chaplain.

In firing a salute to this vessel, August 11, 1789, the day of her arrival, a cannon wad set fire to the tule roofing, and half the buildings of the presidio square were destroyed. It is likely that the old presidio chapel went undamaged. It was described as small and badly located in the middle of the square. On the previous April 14 Governor Fages had ordered adobes made for a new church, larger and better located. The fire and the presence of stonecutters apparently induced him to change his plans in favor of a stone edifice.

Hittell says that Fages had to use his own ingenuity for the reconstruction work. There was available only three thousand dollars, the three stonecutters, and some sailors who had left their vessels. The governor, by negotiating with the chiefs of certain *gentile* Indians at San José, acquired a troop of between eighty and one hundred men. These were conducted unarmed to Monterey by a corporal and four soldiers. Fages fed them well: beef for breakfast, and boiled maize and beans for dinner and supper. Their pay was a string of beads, some woolen or cotton cloth, and the privilege of collecting shells on the beach: total value about seventy-five cents. Hittell does not make it clear whether the value was per person or per the group, but implies that it was paid each working day. He adds that by the end of 1791 a number of new buildings had been erected, old ones repaired, and the new church built. This last building, he says, was erected more or less according to plans drafted by Antonio Velasquez, director of the Royal Academy of San Carlos at Mexico City. This account is substantially correct. We may doubt, however, that the Indian band remained more than a few months, during which time necessary wrecking and portage of materials were accomplished. They had left their women at home. The other buildings were no doubt finished, though they had only temporary tule roofing. The church for certain was not completed, not even to the point where it could be used for services. The three thousand dollars and two years' labor were to some extent wasted, for all was in ruins a decade later.

The facade of the church was designed in Monterey. The plan

is signed by Manuel Ruiz and had been executed as far as the capitals of the lower columns by mid-August, '91, when Fages left Monterey. In Mexico the plan was recognized as imperfect and was slightly modified by the director of architecture. It was then returned to Monterey. Both the Ruiz original and the Velasquez correction were discarded in favor of the much more handsome facade which now adorns the place. 112

God Rest the King . . .

September 26, 1789, Governor Fages notified Father President Lasuén that December 14, 1788, their king, Don Carlos III, had gone to his eternal reward and requested that a requiem Mass be chanted in the Royal Presidio Chapel. The request was complied with and all the padres offered suffrages for his soul. The slow movement of news at the time is apparent from these dates. It took over nine months for this important message to come from Madrid to Carmel.

An Epidemic . . .

Some manner of epidemic struck the Monterey Indians in February, March, and April, 1790. It was fatal to Indian adults. Both native children and whites escaped. Some forty or more neophyte men and women died. There is no way of being sure how their gentile brethren fared, but it must have been no better, for several Christians who lived in the *rancherías* perished. It would seem that those attacked did not realize that they were in any danger of death. 113

Confirmations Renewed . . .

The machinery for renewal of the faculties to confirm had been started already in 1784. The Pope granted the petition May 4, 1785, but by the time this grant had traveled through the highways and byways of civil and ecclesiastical bureaus more than five years had elapsed. Father Lasuén received it July 13, 1790, at San Luis Obispo. He was just then on his way to the capital to see Governor Fages about new missions for Soledad and Santa Cruz.

Next day he confirmed at San Luis Obispo and in the afternoon he headed north in the company of Father Calzada. On the nineteenth he conferred the sacrament at San Antonio, and on the twenty-eighth he went to San Carlos where he confirmed August 2.

There were present on this occasion the governor and his staff, the officers and chaplain of the frigate, *Aranzazu*, and ten Franciscans, four of whom just arrived from Mexico. 114

A New Governor and New Priests . . .

The 1790 supplies and the four new padres had arrived early in July on the *Aranzazu*. Father Francisco confirmed its second pilot August 5, and on the fourteenth an eight year old Nootka lad was baptized. He was the ward of Frigate Commander Don Juan Matute.

In mid-September *San Carlos El Filipino* and the *Real Princesa* anchored at Monterey and remained till October 24. Under Fidalgo and Quimper they had been to the new Spanish establishment at Nootka off Vancouver Island. Several crew members from these barks were confirmed at Carmel, and two Nootkan children, a boy and a girl, were baptized and confirmed. The girl and one or more sailors seem to have stayed at Monterey.

Early in 1790 Don Pedro's request to be retired was granted, and that fall Don José Antonio de Roméu was named his successor. The Doña Eulalia lost no time getting back to civilization. She and the children left on one of the vessels mentioned above. The governor stayed on at Monterey till the fall of '91 awaiting the arrival of his successor and friend.

Father Lasuén was away in the southern missions for the first half of 1791 but Carmel was well supplied with clerics. Fathers Tapis, Rubí, and Gili were supernumeraries between June, '90, and June, '91. Father Rubí, however, was the only one who spent the whole period at Carmel. It had been intended to found two new missions upon the arrival of the four new padres, but equipment for the proposed foundations had not yet arrived and there was a year's delay.

It is usually said that the second entry of the Catalonian Volunteers into California was made in 1796 and 1797. They were under Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Alverni. The *Monterey Marriage Register* puts at Carmel six Catalonian Volunteers of the company of Don Pedro from before December 12, 1790 till about June 19, 1791. Some of them belonged to the mission guard and one to San Francisco Presidio. 115

A Busy Port . . .

The *Princesa* may have been at Monterey in April, '91. At any rate, a sailor from that frigate was buried there April 7, and the ship chaplain (unnamed) said that the deceased had not received the last sacraments. A month later we find Don Alexander Jordan, chaplain of the Department of San Blas, residing at the Monterey Presidio and giving burial to a resident and employee at the presidio. The same Don Alexander is listed some two months later as chaplain in active duty on the *Aranzazu*, then (July 17) anchored at Monterey. Six members of the *Aranzazu* crew were confirmed; among them, Commander Juan Matute's Nootkan ward who had become baptized at Monterey the year before.

Don Francisco de Paula Añino, chaplain of the *Atrevida*, gave Christian burial September 13, 1791, to the body of Juan Gréam (Graham) y Mullen. The interment was in the Monterey cemetery. John was a naval gunner and a native of Boston. He had been a convert from the Presbyterian to the Catholic Church since before he left Cadíz and is the earliest recorded American on the Pacific Coast.

Eight days later we find the *Descubierta* under the Italian, Captain Alexandro Malaspina, also at Monterey. With the *Atrevida* under José de Bustamente she was on a scientific voyage around the world. Don José de Mesa was chaplain to Malaspina. The padres encouraged the Carmel Indians to help the scientists of the expedition collect specimens, and Father Lasuén received cloth, wine, chocolate, and wax in consideration of this and other courtesies. The expedition left Monterey September 25.

Father Lasuén had given the new Mission Santa Cruz a start and then had gone to confirm at Santa Clara. Upon his return to Monterey he baptized (October 1) two Indian children, both girls, who had come on the schooner, *Horcasitas*, from the port of San Lorenzo de Nootka. One of these was given to Don José Argüello. She was unwell and died soon after. About the same time the *Saturnina*, also on a return voyage from Nootka, anchored at Monterey. She seems to have departed October 14.

November 14 three white sailors and eighteen newly baptized Nootkan children from the *San Carlos* were confirmed. The Reverend José Villaverde, chaplain of this bark, had instructed all

these youngsters and baptized several of them personally at Monterey. The frigate sailed November 19.

116

On Trial for Murder . . .

Francisca María Chalc, wife of Estanislao Tupaj, had been missing from the mission for quite some time. There were rumors among the neophytes that her husband and the brothers, Diego and Rosendo, had murdered her. In July, 1791, the woman's body, badly mutilated, was found near the *Embarquadero*. July 21-23 the ones whom rumor had accused were brought to trial at Monterey. It then came out that Estanislao had been keeping company on the sly with Anastasia, just then a widow, while the deceased Francisca María had been living *en mal estado* with Eliseo. Now it was certain that Estanislao and the wife had had a noisy quarrel the day before she disappeared; also that on the day of her disappearance the pair had left the mission. The husband was seen to return alone and to depart again with the brothers, Diego and Rosendo.

The court found the brothers innocent of any crime. Estanislao had told them his wife was unwell in the woods and he needed their help to get her back to the mission. When they reached the spot she was no where to be seen. The case of Estanislao went to the governor. He found that there was no motive to urge Estanislao to murder, for Anastasia, while welcoming his visits, had no desire to marry him. On the other hand, the accused admitted that he and his wife had had a fight near the *Embarquadero* and that she appeared injured therefrom. She was gone when he returned with help to bring her home. Roméu set the Indian free saying he was not the efficient cause of his wife's death or in any way deliberately the cause. Father Seán buried the fragments of her body in the doorway of Carmel Mission church, and notes: "According to the more charitable belief she died torn to pieces by the bears." 117

New Missions . . .

Santa Cruz Mission was founded informally August 28, but formally September 25. The *Aranzazu* had discharged a number of sailors at Monterey and these went to work at the new foundation. The soldiers were from Monterey and San Francisco.

September 29 Father Lasuén dispatched eleven Indians from Carmel with tools to build temporary structures at Soledad. The

president dedicated this foundation October 9. All the first servants of Soledad were Christian natives from San Antonio or Carmel. Some half dozen Carmel neophytes of the Exceles nation with their families served as leaven to Christianize their brethren in the watershed of the Arroyo Seco. The padres also transferred Flora María from San Carlos to Soledad. She was with child as a result of illicit relations. 118

The New Governor . . .

Don Pedro Fages had instructed Lieutenant Governor Arrillaga to act as his representative in transferring the governorship to Don José Roméu. This was done at Loreto April 16, 1791. Roméu reached Monterey October 13. He had his family with him. The new governor came overland, the old had departed by sea in mid-August. Don José was not long for this world. He had been sick ever since he set out for his new post. April 9, 1792, he died at Monterey, and next day was buried in the church of Carmel Mission. A month later (May 13), his widow, Doña Josefa Sandoval gave birth to their daughter, Joaquina Josefa. The family returned to New Spain by sea in the fall of '92. Don José Joaquin de Arrillaga took over as acting governor and carried on till '94. 119

A Resident Physician . . .

Since '79 Monterey had depended for medical advice on visiting naval surgeons. The third duly appointed resident physician, Don Pablo Soler, graduate of the Barcelona College of Surgery and an officer in the Royal Navy, arrived at Monterey in the latter part of 1792 and took up his residence at the presidio.

From the Parochial Books . . .

Bernardino de Jesús Chunuy, the first Monterey Indian baptized, died February 11, 1791. He was not survived by issue, male or female. His grave is in the Carmel cemetery and, like all others there, is unmarked. June 19, 1791, Bernabela Antonia Buelna became the first white Monterey native to take unto herself a spouse. She married the presidio carpenter, Leocadio Martínez. May 25, 1792, Monterey's first set of non-Indian twins was ushered into the light of day: Antonio and José Pinto, sons of Juan María, the soldier. March 6, 1794, the bodies of Macrina and her child, Benito, were

found at the Quarry Cross. For justice' sake there was much investigating but the cause of death was not ascertained.

The year 1792 opened with a procession of Ensen catechumens. Baptism of the youngsters began January 17, and by February 27 Guimes of the Rancheria Pucasta, chief of the Ensen nation, and seventy-three of his people had become Christians. But like St. Paul the padres might well have said: "Lest we be elated God gave us a sting." Concomitant with this enlistment there ran its course an epidemic among the children of the mission *rancheria* and forty tiny victims were laid away with their ancestors. 120

Vessels of Spain and England . . .

The *Concepción* with the supplies reached Monterey by way of Nootka July 9, and left early in September. The man-of-war, *Santa Gertrudis*, under Torres anchored in the port, August 11. She had been to Nootka probably to impress foreigners of Spanish Pacific strength. She left Monterey October 26. October 9 Bodega y Cuadra in the *Activo*, just back from fruitless negotiations with the English at Nootka, entered Monterey Bay. A few days later, the *Saturnina* with messages for him from Mexico cast anchor in the port. Meanwhile, September 22, the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* under Galiano and Valdez came into the bay. They had just finished an exploration of the waters about Nootka and rested at Monterey till October 26. Shortly after these schooners left, the *Horcasitas* stopped at the capital on her way back from Nootka whither she had brought diplomatic correspondence on the Spanish-English Nootka dispute. With her came the *Aranzazu* under Caamano. This frigate had brought supplies to Nootka and may have had some for Monterey. While the waters were still stirred up, the *Daedalus*, supply ship of the Vancouver Expedition, entered the harbor November 21. These three last named vessels and the *Activo* were still there when the *Discovery* and *Chatham*, the other barks forming the English fleet, came into port November 27, 1792.

There were, no doubt, chaplains on most of the Spanish ships. The Monterey sacramental registers record the names of only two: Don Manuel Artiaga, who was likely on the *Santa Gertrudis*, and Don José Jiménez, who was aboard one of the barks seen by Vancouver. Some crew members and several Nootka Indians were

confirmed at Monterey, but the precise vessel on which they came is not always noted. The father of one of the Nootkans is listed as the Englishman, Don Roberto Fonte (sic), and this little girl is said to have been rescued by the Spaniards from unfriendly natives who were holding her hostage. So far as appears, only one of the Nootkans remained at the capital. She was given to Don José Argüello but died shortly after arrival. 121

Vancouver . . .

Despite the British land greed which appeared in his dealings with Cuadra concerning the northern boundary line of California, Vancouver was most generously received, entertained, and supplied at Monterey. So far as records go he was only once at Carmel Mission, but the high regard in which the navigator held Father Lasuén leads us to believe that he had paid many visits to the old man. The recorded visit took place December 2. At the padre's invitation the captain and several English and Spanish officers went over to the mission. They were greeted by the pealing of bells and shown about the place. They made a trip into the Carmel Valley and had dinner under a bower set up for the occasion on the mission grounds. After dinner they were entertained by demonstrations of Indian hunting tactics.

Vancouver remarks that the Carmel buildings were the smallest of the three northern establishments, but like the others, were made of adobe and thatched with straw. The barns were well stocked with grain but its quality was inferior to that of the other missions. Barley was noted at San Carlos but not at San Francisco or Santa Clara. The garden was small and not well worked. There were a few acres of wheat set out on the banks of the Carmel. Grain was still ground on the *metate*. The resulting flour was white and tasty but made heavy bread. The Spaniards mixed it with the Mexican product to lighten the dough.

The Indian village appeared small, considering that there were eight hundred neophytes. This may mean merely that Vancouver misunderstood when he took the padres to mean that the whole eight hundred lived at the mission. It was not apparent to the visitor that Christianization had as yet benefited the general run of converts, but there were individuals who had profited.

Father Serra's Stone Church . . .

The Englishmen saw the Indians building a church under the direction of the padres. The material was local sandstone and mortar made of abalone shells which abounded on the beach. Some think that Vancouver saw this on a subsequent visit, others believe that already the church walls were high enough to appear in the sketch made by Sykes. Both opinions are groundless. The first stone for the present Carmel Mission church was not laid till seven months after Vancouver had left, but a church was dedicated at Carmel on the feast of the Purification, February 2, 1793, or just eighteen days after Vancouver sailed out of the bay. This may have been the edifice started in December, 1781, or that spoken of by Father Serra on his deathbed. What became of it we do not know, but as it had burial vaults in its sanctuary the present church may have been built around it. In this event, it would have been torn down to its floor when the new edifice was about to be completed. For some months prior to the dedication of the present church, marriages were performed in the Carmel cemetery. Had the older church formed no part of the new, there is no reason why it should not have continued in use till the blessing of the new.

122

The Gente de Razón . . .

So far all white subjects of the king dwelt on government or mission property. The family breadwinners were either soldiers or servants. Everyone at Monterey dwelt within the presidio enclosure except that a caretaker and a few guards stayed at the four acre presidio garden. It was near a stream some distance from Monterey and reached by a road cut through an otherwise impassable thicket.

Vancouver judged the Spanish Californians generous, friendly, kind, and most hospitable to strangers. In exercising these virtues they gave perfect evidence that there was no self-seeking and they used every means in their power to prevent guests from being embarrassed by their kindness. This judgment is accurate, for every California visitor agreed with it. It is seldom that such genuine, unselfish, Christian hospitality graces time or place and certainly in no age or land has Spanish California's hospitality been surpassed.

The Britisher was much impressed by the padres, and judged

Father Lasuén gentle of manner, venerable and placid of countenance, tranquil of mind, and a truly lovable character.

Vancouver Leaves . . .

The *Daedalus* sailed December 29 with cattle and sheep aboard for His Britannic Majesty's colony in New South Wales. A ram and three ewes from Monterey gave wool its start in the South Pacific. Only one cow survived the voyage. The other two vessels left January 15. On board were some cattle for the Hawaiian Islands. When last heard of by Vancouver the hopes of perpetuating cattle in the islands depended on at least one of the two cows with calf bringing forth a male offspring.

Five or six men deserted Vancouver at Monterey, among them, his only armorer. The Spaniards allowed their only smith to replace him. In one account it is said that he was the presidio mechanic, in another, that of the mission.

When the deserters were recovered they were found to be three Catholics and two Protestants who said they wanted to be Catholics. The former claimed they deserted because they were not allowed to hear Mass. It is no doubt true that they were not allowed to hear Mass, for under the British flag the Holy Sacrifice was still detested even though the so-called Relief Act of 1791 tolerated it. But it is likely just as true that this was not their reason for desertion. One attached to the Mass would not have signed under a flag which proscribed it. The local authorities forbade the reception of the Protestants into the Church. Eventually three of the culprits, two Portuguese and a Dane, who were not British subjects, remained in California; the rest were restored to the Englishman on one of his subsequent visits.

Vancouver was at Monterey for a few days in early November, 1793. He did not like his reception by the acting governor and was quite pouty about it. The Spanish authorities feared that Vancouver, seeing how undefended California was, might publish the fact. This fear was justified, for the Englishman, grateful in word, but not in deed, did publish to the world the Spanish weakness. On this second California visit Vancouver met Father Lasuén at San Diego and gave him a barrel organ for the new Carmel church. The music box was at Carmel as late as 1837. The one still preserved at

San Juan Bautista Mission is a different instrument, acquired by that mission in 1829.

123

New Churches Begun . . .

The artisans requested by Fages in '87 began to appear in '91. June 15 of that year Manuel Ruiz set to work as a stonecutter at the presidio. When Fages retired in mid-August, '91, there remained considerable work to be done, especially on the Monterey church. In his instructions to his successor Fages recommended not only the repair of certain lime kilns but also the construction of tile kilns. On the other hand, Vancouver remarks that at the time of his visit the dwellings of the Monterey officers were roofed with tile. These first products of the clay oven may have come from the mission. Just when the presidio built its oven does not appear but it did have one. When Fremont Street was widened in 1937, remains of a tile kiln were found directly behind the present presidio chapel and on the south property line of the said street.

The stone collected at the presidio ran short toward the end of 1792. Manuel Ruiz and José Joaquín Alexandro Rivera were transferred to Carmel December 20, '92. Contemporary with these two workers in stone, José Antonio Ramírez served the mission as master carpenter. Two other stonemasons, Santiago Ruiz and Pedro de Alcantara, continued to reside at the presidio. It was they no doubt who completed its chapel.

The new Carmel church was not begun at once. In fact, the artisans went to the mission primarily to instruct the Indians and not to build a church. Just why a church was started so soon after one was dedicated is unknown. The first stone of the new edifice was laid July 7, 1793. The time which elapsed between the arrival of the masons and this date was spent in collecting material. Some have expressed the belief that Fathers Serra and Crespi, both of whom had built stone churches in the Sierra Gorda, had designed this church. The opinion is without foundation.

Chapman believes that to these artisans goes the honor of originating in our state the architectural motif, now known as mission. It certainly started in these years and at Monterey but we do not know who planned it.

124



CARMEL IN 1792

Vancouver Expedition Sketch

Care for the Dead . . .

Father Lasuén was giving thought to the cemeteries of California at this same time. In his letter of December 20, 1792, he remarks that not all missions and *pueblos* had cemeteries but that those which did, enclosed them with a wall of adobe or of stakes and placed a cross in the center. Carmel, of course, had its walled cemetery. The burial ground at Monterey appears to have been given some attention in 1794. There had been but eight interments there prior to that time; the five sailors who died in 1770 and a Lower Californian and two sailors who died in 1791. From July, 1794, not only foreigners but also residents of Monterey were buried in the presidio graveyard, but an occasional interment continued to be made in the presidio chapel. There is no reference to the blessing of a new plot so we presume they merely walled and cleaned the old one. In 1800 they enlarged the Carmel cemetery or opened a new one.

125

Tio Butron Dies . . .

An old friend of the padres, the pioneer soldier, Manuel Butron, was buried at Carmel January 5, 1793. His grave was near the holy water font on the gospel side of the church. He had received all the last sacraments and the burial was preceded by office of the dead, Mass, and a chanted funeral service. He seems to be the first Monterey layman to have been interred with such pomp. The fact that the death entry specifies the Mass would indicate that usually funerals were independent of the Holy Sacrifice.

National and Foreign Sails . . .

In March, '93, some little stir was caused in the old capital by three or four English merchantmen in the vicinity. Two of them, *Prince Lee Boo* and *Jackal*, put in at Monterey and were given wood and water. The Spanish *Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu* reached the port August 25. The new missionaries, Fathers Espí and Catalá, were aboard. The former stayed in California and was assigned to Mission San Antonio. The latter, acting as bark chaplain, went on to Nootka but returned to California to stay in June, '94. In the latter part of September the Father President confirmed half a dozen seamen, including one José Agustín de los Reyes, a native of Macao.

He is probably the first native of China recorded in the west. A soldier of San Blas also received the sacrament. Some of the god-parents were gunners but the name of the war vessel on which they came is not listed.

The British merchantmen, *Butterworth* and *Jenny*, were off the California coast early in '94 but likely did not come close to land. July 2 the *Aranzazu* from Nootka anchored at Monterey for supplies. She was commanded by the American, Juan Kendrick who had been captain of the *Columbia* in 1787, first American vessel to visit the northwest Pacific Coast. Father Catalá was still chaplain but he refused to return to Nootka. Meanwhile, the *Concepción* under Meléndez with the 1794 supplies came into port. Her chaplain, Don José Gómez, took Father Catalá's place and sailed for Nootka. Father Gili, an unworthy religious, replaced Don José on the *Concepción* and thus retired to Mexico. Father Catalá, who had been proposed for canonization even before Father Serra, was able in this way to remain in the mission field on which his heart was set.

126

First White Convert . . .

In July and August, '94, the *Valdez* and *Horcasitas*, Manila vessels under Mondoja, were at Monterey. The eight sailors whom Father Lasuén confirmed between July 28 and August 10 may have been from these vessels. In September the *Aranzazu* was back in port. She sought replacements for some of the Nootka personnel who were ill, as well as hogs and medicine. September 24 there were baptized a Nootka girl and the first non-Indian adult in the history of Monterey. The latter was Juan Bautista Colmen, a native of Gathboren (Gottenborg?), Sweden. While it is possible that these two were from the *Aranzazu*, it is unlikely. When Juan Bautista was confirmed on the occasion of his next visit to Monterey February 22, 1795, he is recorded as a gunner of the brigantine, *Activo*.

Vancouver with his three vessels paid a third visit to Monterey in November. The flotilla left December 2. On this occasion the Englishman made a trip into the Salinas Valley. In late December another vessel from Nootka must have ported at Monterey, for a Nootka Indian and San Blas' sailors received sacraments there December 21, 1794.

127

Secular Power . . .

Don José Joaquín de Arrillaga who became acting governor upon the death of Roméu passed through Monterey in July, '93, on his way to San Francisco. There he busied himself with repairs to the fortifications and preparations for Spanish occupation at Bodega Bay. By September 27 he had returned to the capital. Arrillaga seems to have been the first Californian impressed with the danger of forest fires. We find him ordering the padres to threaten with severe punishment Indians who should set brush fires and recommending legislation along these lines to his successor.

In October, '93, it was Arrillaga's duty to publish Spain's declaration of war against France. Father Lasuén acknowledged the receipt of the information October 24. He promised that the padres would pray for the success of Spanish arms but that, having nothing, they would not be able to help financially. The attempt of the Spanish government in 1795 to tax the missionaries for this war failed. Father Lasuén explained that all their receipts from Mexico were in goods and that the stipends from sailors and residents, as well as receipts from sale of produce, were of little account and entirely consumed on the upkeep of the church. The war came to an end August 4, 1795, and the news reached California the following spring.

128

The First Ranchos . . .

In 1794 certain new viceregal regulations permitted presidio commanders to make land grants within four leagues of any California barracks. Arrillaga accordingly granted ranching concessions to several retired soldiers. On the Salinas River there were the Ranchos Salina, Buenavista, El Tucho, and probably a fourth. Near Monterey there were Mesa, Chupadero, two at the Huerta Vieja, and probably a fifth all within a two mile radius of the presidio. The Carmel church registers for these years list Francisco X. Beltran and Loreto de Lugo as mission residents at least after April, 1795. Eugenio Rosalio lived near Monterey in '94 and Francisco Cayuelas also near the presidio in September, '95. Miguel Osuno dwelt at El Tucho in January, '95 but he was at the mission seven months later. The Indians destroyed four ranches on the Salinas in '95. The Rancho Buenavista was either not among those attacked or, if it

was, its assignees did not abandon it. Mariano Castro and his family were residing there in 1799. 129

Governor Borica . . .

Arrillaga left Monterey in September, '94. This put Don José Argüello in momentary command at the capital. Arrillaga met the new governor, Don Diego de Borica, when their marches crossed at San Juan Capistrano. Borica reached Monterey November 9 or 11, 1794. He had with him his wife, Doña María Magdalena de Urquides, their sixteen year old daughter, María Josefa, and several servants. The family was very popular and it is likely that this little group brought to Old California many of its charming social customs. The governor proved himself to be the greatest enthusiast Monterey had known since the days of Vizcaíno. His idea is clear from the burden of his letters: "To live long and carefree come to Monterey." Doña Magdalena gave birth to a son at the capital September 3, 1795. He was christened Cosme José Antonio Francisco Teclo de Borica. 130

Presidio Chapel Blessed . . .

The chapel of the Royal Presidio was blessed by Father Lasuén January 25, 1795, and immediately thereafter he sang its first solemn Mass. Paula Magdalena Ignacia Argüello, the last child whom Father Lasuén confirmed at Carmel, was the first baptized in the new structure. To this day the same church serves the needs of Monterey. The Carmel church was about half finished at the time. The Father President thought that he would need Manuel Ruiz for at least another year and a half for this work. 131

Around the Mission . . .

Father Seán seems to have had chief care of things spiritual. Father Arenaza's name is not frequent in the registers and Father Lasuén's is very rare. The Father President functioned at the presidio chapel when he was not absent on his pastoral tours. Miguel Berardo Murcchu continued as sacristan and interpreter of Rumsen, while José María Taculis catechized in his native Excelen. Besides the stonemasons, smiths, and carpenters who were instructing the neophytes, Father Seán was able to acquire the services of Antonio Enriquez, the weaver. Just when the mission loom started

operations is not clear but the weaver was residing at Carmel before May, 1795.

The conquest in these years included some of the native leaders or their children. In August, '93, the padres baptized the four year old son of Caulish, captain of Ensen. Early in '94 three children and the wife of Lutlucu, alias Chitiim, chief of Locuyusta in Kalenda Ruc, became Christians. Some years before another child of this captain had been baptized and it was now eight years old. To all appearances he was now brought to the mission for his Christian training. It seems certain that a chief relinquished his office and went to dwell at the mission when he or his family became Christians. In July, '94, Acjaca, chief of Excelen, lay seriously ill at Aculatcan, eleven leagues from Carmel. He sought and received baptism from Father Señán. Upon his recovery he seems to have gone to the mission. At any rate, when he is next mentioned (September 4) he is not referred to as a chief. On the other hand, he seems not to have been chief in July, '85, at which time one of his children was baptized.

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Confirmations Cease . . .

Father Lasuén's confirmation faculties terminated May 4, 1795. María Josefa de Gracia Padilla was the last Monterey infant to receive the sacrament in the Spanish Era. She was confirmed at Monterey April 27, 1795. The old priest's last confirmation was on May 4 at San Antonio. Over forty years were to elapse before the Holy Spirit would again make Soldiers of Christ in California. So far as we can see the Fernandinos must stand responsible for failure to urge the plea for extension of the grace. We wonder if this lack of efficient appreciation of confirmation may not have played its part in the dissolution of the Spanish-speaking Church in California. Monterey's next confirmation was October 1, 1836, and it was administered by virtue of Papal faculties enjoyed by the Zacatecan, Fray Francisco García Diego, commissary of the northern missions of California.

133

Carmel's Silver Jubilee . . .

June 4, 1795, twenty-five years had passed since the Church was founded at Monterey. We do not have a record of any celebration

but if they did review the period the account would have run thus: So far no serious attempt at colonization had been made; hence, all lay *gente de razón* in Monterey were either soldiers, servants, or artisans, and their families. They were generally speaking good Christian people. They did not need, possess, or even desire either wealth or the conveniences of life. Vancouver had seen the value of stirring up wants in the people if trade were ever to flourish. Costansó, the California pioneer, when consulted in 1794 about the inadequate fortification of the territory, replied that it would cost too much to remedy the situation and even at that the results might not be effective. If Spaniards feared English seizure of the west, let them imitate their rival, colonize the land, and develop trade. Governor Fages, however, favored the simple manner of California life. He condemned free trade even with the transports as conducive to luxury. The true beneficence of the Spanish presence in California is evident from the fact that, with no protection against outsiders and scarcely any against the Indians, life went on peacefully for half a century.

It took a generation to get a real start at civilizing the natives. Indeed the work of attracting them to the mission was just ending as this civilizing process was getting under way. The delay was necessary for only now were the material resources in buildings, equipment, cultivated land and personnel available in sufficient quantity to banish uncertainty. 134

Some Statistics . . .

The following table will give an adequate picture of the spiritual results of the three pastorates. Two of these had finished and the third, that of Father Seánán, was almost at a close. (June 4, 1770 to June 3, 1795):

<i>Indian Natives</i>	<i>Baptisms</i>	<i>Confirmations</i>	<i>Deaths</i>
Adults (15 years or over)	688		559
Children of pagan parents.....	632		430
Children of neophytes.....	551		
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	1,871	1,496	989

<i>Other Residents</i>	<i>Baptisms</i>	<i>Confirmations</i>	<i>Deaths</i>
Adults	0		20
White Children.....	98	133	21
Mestizo children.....	24	25	7
Presidial Indians.....	0	7	12
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	122	165	60
Visitors	53	149	16

POPULATION DECEMBER 31, 1795

Indians at Carmel

Difference between births and deaths.....	886
Foreign Indians aggregated to Carmel Mission.....	6
Living at the mission or in contact therewith.....	876

This last figure is broken down as follows:

Men 352, boys 92, women 347, girls 85.

Carmel Indians at other missions, married to whites, etc..... 16

These figures are taken from the *Annual Report* and the *Baptismal* and *Death Registers*. They would indicate that there were no fugitives as of this date were it not for the fact that some neophytes from other missions may have been enrolled at Carmel.

Non-Indians and Indians at Monterey

Indian men 9, women 5—total.....	14
Non-Indian men 121, women 50, children 70—total.....	241
Unclassified non-Indians.....	29
	<hr/>
Total	284

MARRIAGES 1771-1795

Indians (both single 160, man widowed 57, woman widowed 54, both widowed 46, couple already wed as gentiles 160—total.....	477
Indian with non-Indian.....	14
Both parties non-Indian.....	24
	<hr/>
Total	515

In 1795 San Carlos had its greatest neophyte population; in fact, the Catholic population of Carmel has never since reached that figure.

It is to the glory of Spanish California at this time, or at least that of Monterey, that not one single native Indian, Christian or pagan, is found as a servant and much less a slave in the home of any Spaniard or Mexican. So far as can be made out from the registers the padres permitted no one to gain control of a native. On the other hand, it is possible that one or other Indian from Nootka remained at Monterey in the service of one or other Spaniard. If Montereyans did so obtain Canadian Indians it must be remembered that they could not retain them against their will after they had come of age. Further, some pagan natives and an occasional neophyte hired themselves to the government or to individuals as laborers and were paid in articles valued by the Indian. Such service was never forced except in the case of convicts. 135

Father Señán Leaves . . .

The supply ships, *Purísima Concepción* and *Aranzazu*, reached California in the summer of '95. In one of them came Friar Antonio Jayme who reached Monterey August 25. He stayed at Carmel as a supernumerary till February, '96, whence he went to Soledad. In early September and on one of these vessels Father Señán returned to Mexico, but not for good. He came back two years later and worked in California till death. The Father President became minister in actual charge at Carmel and Father Arenaza remained the assistant. This arrangement was temporary.

The idea that no other vessels called at Monterey this year is not correct. It is true that Spain abandoned Nootka to England in an agreement of March, '95. The news reached California in October. This terminated regular sea traffic to the north. But in February the *Activo*, in March the *Princesa*, and in May the *San Carlos* were at Monterey. Sixteen Nootka children who came on the last named vessel were baptized there. It is likely that six of these remained in the families of local Spaniards and Mexicans. The chaplain of the *San Carlos* was Don José Atanasio Gómez. There may have been a vessel from the north in October, and as late as July 10, 1796, a child from Nootka was baptized at Monterey. 136

IX

The Spiritual Conquest Ends

(13 Years 1796 - 1808)

From 1796 to 1804 there were several clergy changes but none of the padres showed evidence of missionary spirit. Father Amorós came in September, 1804, and by 1808 he had converted every remaining pagan. They were not many. Although Christianization of the natives had been accomplished their civilization was only begun. The old methods were continued with little noticeable progress or change.

Two plagues carried off over one-fourth of the neophytes and a higher percentage of the pagans. The white loss was negligible. The Indian death rate continued higher than the birth rate.

After 1896 one of the Carmel priests served as chaplain to the presidio and did his work to the satisfaction of the civil authorities. This and other happenings indicated the growing importance of the gente de razón.

Changing Shepherds . . .

For nearly six years after Father Señán's departure Carmel was without a permanent pastor. Fathers Lasuén and Arenaza were nominal ministers for the first few months, but the supernumeraries, Fathers Jayme and then José de la Cruz, did much of their work. Fray Mariano Payeras came in mid-year, '96. He had just arrived with six other padres on the *Aranzazu*. His first baptism was July 10. This released the Father President and left Father Arenaza in charge, but this priest, being a victim of tuberculosis, was quite unfit for work. He returned to Mexico in '97 where he died two years later. Fray Francisco Pujol, who had come to California with Father Jayme, took Father Arenaza's place till the end of 1800, when Fray José Manuel de Martiarena took over for a couple of months. In March 1801 Fray Baltasar Carnicer became permanent pastor. He had been temporarily at Carmel from September, '98 (when Father Payeras left), to May, '99, when Fray José Viñals replaced him. So now with Fathers Carnicer and Viñals as permanent ministers, Carmel once more went on under steady though not spectacular guides. In September, 1804, Fray Juan Amorós took Father Viñals' place and, with him, zeal returned to Carmel.

137

The Drought . . .

1795 was a very dry year. The mission wheat and barley failed completely and the corn, beans, and peas were but seventy-five per cent normal. Some relief came from Santa Clara but the mission had to share its fortune with the presidio. 1796 was another dry year with the total Carmel crops at about seventy-five per cent of normal. As though to even things off, 1797 was the most fruitful in the whole Mission Era. The crops totaled nearly eighty-two hundred bushels, or one-fifth more than the next best year, 1799.

The mission cattle and those at the Rancho del Rey on the present site of Salinas seem to have held their own despite the 1795 drought and wild beasts which were especially troublesome that year. In 1796, however, the herds fell from twenty-three hundred head in 1794 to seven hundred and thirty in 1798. The decrease seems to have been only indirectly due to the drought. Meat had to compensate for the cereal shortage, and the governor drew on the

missions to stock two new royal ranches. Moreover Carmel supplied cattle for the new San Juan Bautista Mission, and when nature failed them the wild Indians would always help themselves to domestic stock. It was 1804 before the cattle herd reached its normal two thousand head. The other domestic animals were not materially affected. 138

Missionary Effort in Abeyance . . .

Whether the frequent clergy changes, the poor crops, or the inaptitude of the new clergy explain it, the fact remains that no effort was made to gain new recruits for the Christian population. Only thirty-three pagan adults were baptized in the eight years, 1796-1803, and all seem to have come to the mission of their own accord. For all practical considerations Father Señán's departure closed the Mission Era. The formal end would occur May 6, 1808. Some have said the padres were not to blame if there were no more pagans. In the first place there were pagans left in these years. We have no way of knowing their numbers. The plague of 1802 was very severe and they would have suffered again in 1806. The remnant after that was small. But, granted that the conquest was de facto ended, then the wisdom of missionaries retaining *Pious Fund* income to aid a self-supporting institution that had ceased to be a converting agency is not apparent. Elsewhere there were numerous pagans who could not have a priest till aid was forthcoming from this depleted fund. This comment is not made to blame the fathers, but merely to point out that good men who lack farsightedness and practical judgment may harm the Church while they think they are upholding her rights. 139

Trades and Schools . . .

Although San Carlos Mission had ceased to reduce pagans to the yoke of Christ, it continued with uncertain results as a civilizing agency. The missionaries were convinced that the Carmel Indians lacked all aptitude for reading, writing, and arithmetic. So when the king commanded the substitution of Spanish for native dialects and the establishment of schools for the Indians, only formal heed was paid to the order. When the royal desire was announced in California, the Father President committed it (February 23, 1795) to the "well known zeal" of each mission padre but gave no practi-

cal suggestions, and so far as is known nothing was done at Carmel or elsewhere. In the mornings the catechism continued to be taught in Spanish and in the afternoons in Excelen and Rumsen. This was sensible enough as adult Indians could not be expected to learn a new tongue. There is no reason to believe that the young Indians could not have learned to read and write or that ways and means to this end could not have been devised, but this does not change the fact that the padres judged differently.

At this time Governor Borica, probably reminded by the decree concerning Indian education, realized that there were no provisions for instructing the white children. He urged the several presidios and *pueblos* to found schools. In response, the soldier, José Rodríguez, began giving free instruction in reading, writing, and catechism in the carpenter shop at Monterey. How badly it was needed may be judged by the report that in 1794 not one private in the San Francisco barracks could read or write. This first free school in the state did not long survive. At least we find nothing more about it, and the teacher is listed as corporal of the guard at San Miguel Mission July 25, 1797.

On the other hand, the padres did their best to give every capable Indian sufficient opportunity to enable him to make his living. Carmel Mission had been allotted one master in each of the trades represented among the artisans who came in the 1790's. It is true that the fathers and the civil authorities quarreled about who should get the cash profit from these workers, and that the Father President opposed sending neophytes to the presidio to learn trades, insisting that the teachers dwell at the mission. Bancroft was impressed when reading the documents concerning this matter that the padres "wanted all the benefits of the enterprise and its management but pleaded poverty when payment was asked." Others have got the same impression and it probably is correct. We must remember, however, that the missionaries were merely looking out for the welfare of their Indian wards. Neither they nor their order would receive one *real* as a result of victory, or lose one as a result of defeat. Nevertheless, it would have been wiser for them to have argued less about prices and striven harder by due rewards to have more and better teachers.

Despite the controversy, and while it lasted, enough natives

learned masonry, weaving, tanning, tile making, carpentry, saddlery, blacksmithing, shoemaking, etc. to make the mission independent of white artisans; hence, already before 1800 the fathers lost interest in these outsiders.

The result of Indian artisans in considerable numbers had its good and bad effects. Weaving flourished to such an extent that from 1797 on no blankets were imported from Mexico. The Indians easily developed skill in dyeing. Tiles replaced tule on all buildings. Better and more attractive edifices and furnishings became actualities. On the other hand, Indians were in demand among the soldiers and settlers as skilled laborers, and both in their spare time and in that which belonged to the mission they would work for these people. Since they were compensated, it put them in possession of gambling articles which were attractive to the white as well as to the native. None the less, all in all there was little to complain about at least as far as the Carmel Indians were concerned. Indeed the neophytes were content with the mission, and the missionaries with their wild children. 140

The New Church and Other Buildings . . .

The only remaining Carmel monument of these ancient artisan teachers is the church. They and their native pupils took four years and two months to complete it. The exact date of the dedication seems not to have been recorded but all authorities place it in September, 1797. Fathers Lasuén, Payeras, Pujol and Horra were present. The last named baptized a child at Carmel September 18; the previous day was Sunday and the likely dedication date.

This church had the same general appearance inside and out as it presents today, except for the buttress to the rear wall and the chapel on the south. The roof was of tile and the interior white-washed and decorated. The decoration is not described, but the bits of plaster which have survived the ravages of time show red and black lines and simple figures as borders near the top of the walls and also about shoulder height around the bottom.

The 1800 *Annual Report* says that in this year the church was raised one *vara*, and that the stone buttress still in place and over seven *varas* high was put up because the rear wall was out of plumb nearly three inches. What is meant by raising the church one *vara*

is not clear. It is unlikely that they could have removed the roof and replaced it in one year. Whether the crack in the rear wall resulted from faulty engineering or from an earthquake that did some damage in California in 1800 is not recorded.

Other Carmel improvements were an adobe building nine by twenty *varas* with three stone and mortar troughs for tanning. This was built in '96. In '98 four adobe rooms and in '99 a wing, one hundred and seven *varas* long, were added in the process of enclosing the mission quadrangle. These structures were six *varas* wide, inside measurements, and the long wing was six and a half *varas* high. Part of it may have been the single women's sleeping quarters. The measurements coincide, or it may have had two stories. The whole had a tile roof. 141

Presidio Structures . . .

From June 16 to December 31, 1797, the artisan, Toribio Ruiz, was employed at the Monterey Presidio. He repaired the church roof and laid foundations for a new barracks to serve the Volunteer soldiers. Neither his work nor that of his predecessors was able to stand up against the elements. In 1801 Arrillaga reported the presidio church and other buildings in miserable condition. They were poorly built and the rainstorms had ruined them. He considered nothing less than rebuilding necessary.

At the beginning of the 19th century the presidio was one hundred and ten *varas* square. The main entrance was on the north. This gate must have been a flimsy affair, for it was demolished in a wind and rainstorm in 1801. On each side of the portal were barracks and three warehouses. The west wing was the governor's abode (a parlor, kitchen, and eight small rooms), two houses for officers, and one for the surgeon. In the center of the south wing facing the patio entrance was the church with nine residences on each side of it; in the east wing were another nine homes, the blacksmith shop, and a small gate. Outside the north wing, that is between the presidio and the shore, was the cemetery. All buildings were of adobe or stone and the whole was tile roofed. The chapel had its caretaker who was receiving two dollars per month till the governor considered the pay excessive and reduced it to a few *reales* now and then. 142

Vital Notes . . .

"June 16, 1797, on the gospel side of the Carmel sanctuary and in the vault closest the wall, church burial was given the remains of the Reverend Father Preacher and Apostolic Missionary, Fray Julian López . . . aged about thirty-five years and a missionary two. He received the sacraments . . . giving evidences of being a true and perfect religious and son of our holy father St. Francis . . . (signed) Fr. Fran'co Pujol." The deceased was not assigned to Carmel and the reason for his presence is not given.

Don Cristobal Antonio Díaz, chaplain of the *Aranzazu*, presided at the wedding of Geronimo Ruiz, boatswain on the said bark, to María Angela Tapia, at Monterey August 31, 1796. We are not told whether the sailor took his bride along or left her behind.

"November 24, 1797, in the church of the Royal Presidio of Monterey, I solemnly baptized a girl, born the twenty-second at 7:30 p.m., the legitimate daughter of Don Diego de Borica . . . Governor . . . of the Province of the Californias . . . and of Doña María Magdalena de Urquides, his lawful wife . . . the child was named María Benvenuta Bernarda Cecilia Juana de la Cruz and her god-mother was Doña María Josefa de Borica, sister of the baptized . . . (signed) Fr. Fran'co Pujol."

November 4, 1802, Father Carnicer buried the bodies of Otilia Chatocmacan and her infant daughter. "The child was taken by Caesarean operation from the womb of her dead mother and baptized but died almost at once . . . (signed) Fr. Baltasar Carnicer." February 20, 1808, Florencio Pulus drowned in the sea "among the rocks near Carmel Point. They were not able to find his body . . . (signed) F. Juan Amorós."

Soldiers and Settlers . . .

As has been noted, the Franciscans had no obligation in justice to the non-Indian population of California. This defect was remedied by the bishop of the territory in documents dated September 30 and October 22, 1796. By the former the Father President was made vicar forane for Alta California by the bishop of Sonora, Sinaloa and the Californias. This gave the missionary ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the non-military, non-Indian population. By virtue of the latter missive he was made military vicar, thus receiving spir-

itual jurisdiction over the soldiers and their families.

The padres had not sought these faculties and from the tone of their writings we are justified in saying that they would rather not have received them. It was their plea that secular priests be sent to take care of the soldiers and settlers, or at least that the king would pay the missionaries to do so. Be this as it may, the padres accepted the jurisdiction and thus became bound in justice.

The Father President was authorized to subdelegate his powers, and his delegate for the territory of San Carlos, San Juan Bautista, and San Antonio Missions was Father Payeras. This office of the Father President was effective March 20, 1795, when he took the oath in the presence of Father Arenaza at Carmel. It may have been by reason of this appointment that we find Father Lasuén insisting that the *gente de razón* conform to church law on annual confession and Communion and on a catechism examination before marriage.

It would seem too that some agreement was reached whereby the presidios would be cared for by one of the ministers of the nearest mission. A government report in 1820 expressed contentment at the way the Monterey Presidio chaplains had performed their duties from 1796 on. The padre would come to the presidio on Friday or Saturday and stay over until Monday morning. It is thought that the reason for the military burial of Father Pujol must have been that he was presidio chaplain. Father Carnicer held the office from 1805 to 1808.

Through the same Sonora bishop the padres were asked in 1799 to give money for the Spanish war with England. Neither Carmel nor any of the other missions responded, but thirty-four hundred and sixty dollars was collected from the soldiers, settlers, and mission Indians. The padres excused themselves, saying they got no wages other than goods from Mexico, and that what occasional stipends came from sailors, soldiers, or settlers were of small moment and went to aid the natives.

Although this statement is quite true, one wonders if it would not have been wiser for the good padres to have overlooked such a venial occasion for pointing out their generous poverty, and added their mite to that of the other Californians. Fifty dollars from Carmel would not have harmed their wards. The news of this war had

reached Monterey in March, 1797, and at that time Father Lasuén ordered the litany of the Blessed Virgin with appropriate prayers and a Mass each Saturday in each mission that success might accompany the Spanish arms. The neophytes were allowed to work on the defenses as there was some slight apprehension that the English might attack California.

The subjects of the vicar military and forane were increased in 1797 by thirty-five to forty persons, all shiftless, who arrived in May and September to found the town of Branciforte near Santa Cruz Mission. They passed through Monterey on their way. In 1796 and 1797 there came some Spanish soldiers of the Volunteer Company of Catalonia and a few Mexican artillerymen. About twenty Volunteers under Sub-Lieutenant Simon Suarez and seven of the Mexicans remained at Monterey. In 1795 a dozen sailor servants had stayed behind when the *Concepción* sailed, but others who had been acting as mission help left about the same time. A few convicts, released on the condition that they settle in California, arrived in these years.

When departures are subtracted from arrivals we find the non-Indian population in the Monterey military district about four hundred and fifty with some three hundred and fifty of them in Monterey and Carmel. There were nine officers including the Surgeon Don Pablo Soler, fifty privates, two or three mechanics, and one master blood-letter. The rest were families of the military, pensioned soldiers with their families, and servants of the missions and presidio. The settlers in this district were concentrated at Branciforte. Five of the cavalrymen with their families were at each mission.

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New Missions . . .

Already in 1795 both Governor Borica and President Lasuén contemplated at least five new missions. November 15 that year Ensign Sal, with Fray Antonio Dantí as chaplain and diarist, set out from Monterey to explore sites on which to establish San Juan Bautista and San José Missions. Other expeditions had left other points to find locations for San Miguel, San Fernando Rey, and San Luis Rey.

January 12, 1796, the Father President reported to the gov-

ernor on the two first named locations, and previously had given information about the three to the south. February 26 Governor Borica requested friars to man the proposed establishments. September 29 the guardian of San Fernando reported that ten of his priests had volunteered and in due time all arrived in California.

June 11, 1797, Father Lasuén founded Mission San José. He returned the same night to Santa Clara, and went thence to San Juan Bautista which he formally dedicated St. John's Day, June 24. It had been decided that San Francisco, Santa Clara, and San Carlos would lend Indians and tools to start these two missions and give them livestock, all without compensation. Santa Cruz and Soledad were not yet firmly established and did not render aid. It is probable that San Francisco and Santa Clara looked after San José. San Carlos alone seems to have mothered San Juan. The efficient Corporal Ballesteros and his guard of five, aided no doubt by Carmel neophytes, had erected temporary buildings before the dedication date. Hence, San Juan's actual and formal openings coincide.

The territory assigned to San Juan had furnished about seventy neophytes to San Carlos but not all were still alive. Twenty-four men and twenty-five women were transferred from Carmel to the new foundation. Bancroft lists among the San Juan *rancherías* three which must have remained in San Carlos, viz., Poytoquis, Guacharron, and Kalenda Ruc. Since they were near the border between the missions they would have furnished neophytes to both; hence, Bancroft's error. Going on south the eighty year old Father President founded San Miguel July 25, San Fernando September 8, and the next year, June 13, 1798, San Luis Rey. 144

A Day at Carmel . . .

As the 18th century drew to a close, San Carlos Mission was firmly established, well provided with land, stock, buildings, food, tools, artisans, and neophytes. Also it had become possible to fix a definite, sufficiently efficient, yet only moderately exacting horarium for the eight hundred odd souls that inhabited the mission buildings and the adjoining *ranchería*. The schedule was about the same as that noted by La Pérouse in 1786, but the food was better and the work more diversified.

The mission family rose with the sun. The gate to the quadrangle was opened and likewise the door to the unmarried women's sleeping quarters. This task belonged to one of the Indian *alcaldes*. Then came Mass with a father reciting aloud the prayers and catechism in Spanish. All Indians of nine years and over attended. After Mass the unskilled natives assembled in the courtyard and were assigned their work for the day. Then came breakfast. This was about a pint of *atole*, a cereal porridge, for each person. It was hot, as were all meals. It would be carried from the community kitchen or *pozolera* by a member of each family in an earthen or bark vessel and eaten at the native's hut or in the patio.

The labors would start about two hours after sunrise and continue till 11:15 when the fathers had their lunch. After the missionaries had eaten, the Indians filed to the kitchen again and for each there was dished out about a pint of *pozole*, a stew of cereals, vegetables, and meat. In the afternoons work started at two o'clock and lasted about two hours. Then the fathers went to say matins and lauds.

At five o'clock the whole community gathered in church for the recitation of the catechism, this time in Indian, and for other devotions. The father would also give a short instructive sermon.

Supper, which duplicated breakfast, was served at six, and afterwards the Indians amused themselves in the patio. At eight the All Souls' bell rang and each Indian said his *De Profundis* wherever he happened to be. Most of them went to bed then. At nine the rest were supposed to be off to sleep and the quadrangle gate and women's sleeping quarters were locked by the Indian *alcalde* and the keys given to the missionary.

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The Monjerio . . .

The women's sleeping quarters, known as the *monjerio*, was one of Carmel's best buildings. It was a room about sixteen by forty-six with a sixteen foot ceiling and walls some eighteen inches thick. There were three large iron barred windows on the court side and four small windows high up in the opposite wall. The crossbeams of the roof were visible and no doubt had plank laid over them to make a ceiling. This hall was whitewashed inside and out, roofed with tile, and surrounded on two sides by a portico, the pavement of

which was about a yard higher than the patio and over two yards wide.

All necessary conveniences were provided for the inmates: a candle was kept burning through the night, and fire, probably charcoal burners, was furnished in cold weather. There was no guardian with them.

Girls who had reached the age of puberty and who had not yet married, or who were widows, spent the night in these quarters. So, too, did married women when their husbands were absent. The days were spent with their families or at their work and play.

The bachelors and widowers used to spend their evenings in and around the kitchen which was a roomy, partly open building. There they would say their prayers in common after supper and sing the *Salve*. Afterwards the violins, violas, and guitars were brought out and the Indians would play, sing, and dance. There were no women at these entertainments. Many of the young men would sleep the night in the kitchen or in one of the storerooms. The rest would go to their folks' huts just outside the mission gate.

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The Workers . . .

The native artisans started their work at the same time as the unskilled workmen, but they and others who did piecework were free when their allotted tasks were done.

The women would fetch clay and straw for adobe and small stones for building foundations when such work was in progress. The amount brought may be judged from the number of adobe made each day. When not otherwise engaged, and except during pregnancy and lactation, each healthy squaw was supposed to grind sixteen pounds of roasted grain a day. Adobe makers were men. They worked in squads of nine and each had to make forty adobe bricks a day, six days a week. Thirty-two men, with two women carrying clay and straw, had to make three hundred twenty tile a day. Weavers were to turn out ten yards of woolen cloth daily. They got two and half cents for each extra yard. Those engaged in piecework usually worked only until eleven a.m. and were finished for the week by Friday. So, except in rush seasons, the trained neophytes had a twenty hour, and the untrained a thirty to forty hour, week. The unskilled workers would do nothing unless the padre or

an *alcalde* was with them to direct and encourage each move. Moreover, no one, Indian or white, ever rushed at anything in Spanish California.

It was customary every Sunday after Mass to read the roll call of all neophytes old enough to attend. As each name was called, the person came forward and kissed the padre's hand. In this way those missing Mass were detected. Afterwards, at some missions the names of one-fifth of the adults were read to announce whose turn it was to visit with their pagan friends and relatives in the wilds. Thus every five weeks at least each neophyte had a one or two weeks' vacation. The two weeks were given those who had come from distant *rancherías*. The padres note that it was chiefly the old women and the sickly Indians who desired to visit the wilds. Nearly all went in seedtime, but not all whose turn it was would go at other seasons. After 1808 there were no Carmel pagans for them to visit. In this mission, and likely in all others, the padres let the neophytes go to the wilds as often as these had the urge, but only for a week or two at a time.

Alcalde Elections . . .

The practice of electing Indian *alcaldes* and *regidores* is said to have fallen into disuse in 1792. The *alcalde* system continued but the fathers may have stopped the formality of elections and appointed these overseers. From 1796 to 1798 this matter attracted Governor Borica's attention. He was a reasonable man and knew that the Indians were not yet capable of electing their own officers, at least in cases where these officers had a right to compel obedience. He treated with the Father President and was satisfied when Father Lasuén agreed to observe the letter of the law. Henceforth, each year the neophytes elected the officers chosen by the padres, and the governor received formal notice of the election and its results. The notice sent the governor January 7, 1799, listed as Carmel's *alcaldes* Augusto and Martín, and as *regidores* Tadeo and Luis. 147

Runaways . . .

The padres never really solved the problem of runaway Indians. Viewed from our distant vantage point it seems not to have been a problem worth bothering about. The critics of the fathers took two

opposite stands. The priests were condemned because they kept the neophytes at the mission instead of letting them run in the wilds, and because they let them run too much in the wilds and did not keep them at the mission. The missionaries felt that by having them about four-fifths of the time they could best satisfy and yet train these wild children, and they were no doubt right.

When the neophytes did not return from their leaves the padres were faced with a dilemma. The government did not want the Christian Indians among the pagan, it did not want the padres to go after them without a bodyguard, and it did not want a bodyguard away over night. On the other hand, a fugitive was not going to stay within a few hours of the mission. The government did not want Christian Indians sent after the runaways except when the messenger was a relative or friend of the fugitive. Master minds could no doubt have found a solution, but the padres were just ordinary men. In our day when so many abandon their faith completely we would consider it just a matter of course were a couple of dozen out of eight hundred to wander off into indifference, but not so the padres.

In Carmel there does not seem to have been many fugitives. In 1798, however, the efforts of Father Payeras to recover Indians that had taken refuge in Kalenda Ruc and Mutsun did not meet with success and he appealed to Governor Borica. April 6, 1799, this official authorized the Carmel missionaries to choose some trustworthy neophytes to go with a squad of soldiers to recover truants. On such occasions the runaways would be promised pardon if they came peacefully, and when encountered they returned without protest. In June an expedition composed of thirteen cavalrymen and as many neophytes, with Sergeant Macario Castro in charge, visited all the *rancherias* in the districts served by San Carlos, San Juan Bautista, and Soledad Missions and collected the fugitives belonging to all three places. At the same time the gentile Indians were warned against harboring runaway Christians, and no doubt as was customary promised a reward if they heeded the warning. This effort was successful and executed without causing hard feelings.

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Borica Retires . . .

The governor resigned because of ill health and left Monterey late

in 1799. He went overland to San Diego, whence he sailed on the *Concepción* with his wife and three children January 16, 1800. He died at Durango July 19, 1800. No immediate successor was appointed, so Arrillaga was in charge for a second time. He resided at Loreto. 149

Mexican Foundlings . . .

When the *Concepción* returned in August she was convoyed by the *Princesa* which had been armed, lest vessels of the enemy be encountered. She carried the supplies as usual, but in addition had aboard nineteen foundlings to help colonize California. There were ten girls and nine boys chaperoned by *Madre* María de Jesús, presumably a religious, but about whom there seems to be no other information. Some of the girls were old enough to marry. All were given homes with presidio families. Bancroft says the girls were fond of cigars but that all turned out well. He does not say who furnished them with tobacco in the orphan asylum. In all likelihood only five of the girls and one of the boys remained in Monterey. All these girls married soldiers between December 12, 1800 and August 21, 1802. The boy, Timoteo Lorenzana, may have been quite young. He became a soldier and in 1816 married. In the same year a daughter of one of the foundlings took unto herself a husband.

The last name of each foundling is given as Lorenzana and each is described as being "a child of the home of the cradle of Mexico." The home thus referred to had been founded, supported for some time, and no doubt later endowed by His Excellency Francisco Antonio Lorenzana y Butron, Archbishop of Mexico City, the same who had given advice to Gálvez and who had presented him with the statue of Our Lady. The place opened its doors January 11, 1767, as a house for abandoned children and was commonly called *La Cuna*. 150

The Carmel Library . . .

At some time between June, 1798 and June, 1803, Father Lasuén catalogued the Carmel Mission library. It contained at the time about four hundred bound volumes. The catalogue marks are made on the old European system, a Roman numeral for the section over an Arabic one for the book's place in the section. These were written with black India ink on a field of white lead painted at the top

of the spine. There were four sections in the library, one each for 4^{to}, 8^{vo}, 12^{mo}, and smaller volumes. About one-third of the original catalogued books are in the modern San Carlos parish library and about two dozen of them bear an inscription in Father Serra's hand. If we can trust proportions in the matter this would mean that the mission library in Father Serra's day consisted of about seventy volumes.

151

Father Pujol's Heroism . . .

Late in 1800 the priests at San Antonio, and shortly afterwards those at San Miguel, were stricken with severe and incapacitating intestinal pains. It was generally believed that they were victims of an Indian poison plot. Father Pujol of Carmel volunteered to aid at San Antonio though he felt himself to be in danger, and from there, January 17, 1801, he went to San Miguel. He was stricken with the same symptoms as the other four padres and was returned to San Antonio February 27, where he died after great suffering March 15, 1801, and was buried with military honors. His contemporaries considered him a martyr. This he probably was in that he willingly braved and suffered death, which he might have avoided by not volunteering for a mission which rightly or wrongly he and others considered dangerous.

About this same time there were rumors of an Indian plot to kill Father Viñals and burn the mission at Carmel. The *rancheria* was surrounded and its inhabitants put under arrest. Later it was learned that the whole idea was the fabrication of a disgruntled neophyte who wished to terrify the padres.

152

The Great Plague . . .

This plague was called by the Spaniards *dolor de costado*, which means that the symptoms were like those of pneumonia. It seems to have hit all the missions and no doubt was even more widespread. It started late in 1801 but did not strike Monterey till early in 1802. The first death occurred January 25, and before April 22 fifty-one Indians, nearly all adults, and four whites had died. Included among the latter was Don Pedro Alverni, the highest ranking military man in the province.

But these casualties did not exhaust the ravages of the disease. As was usual in such exigencies a great many neophytes fled to the

hills. It was later learned that eighty-six of these had certainly succumbed, and among a group of twenty-four, whose death was ascertained several years later, there may have been some who died on this occasion. These epidemics usually left the survivors in such weakened condition that they died, probably of complications, within a few months. Whereas the average deaths in a normal year numbered forty-five, there were over two hundred and twenty-five Indians and nineteen whites who departed this life in 1802-1803. This would mean that the plague claimed about one-fifth of the neophytes.

Another epidemic struck in 1806 but it was comparatively mild. There were eighty-eight deaths in the year with about half traceable to the malady.

153

Silk and Silver . . .

In 1802 San Carlos Church was given a gilt silver crown, two strings of fine pearls, and some earrings for the statue of the Immaculate Conception; also a red damask curtain and a light green satin canopy for the Blessed Sacrament. All were votive offerings. The donors are not listed in the *Annual Report*, but a crown is still preserved in the Monterey parish museum which bears this inscription: "From the devotion of Naval Lieutenant Don Juan Bautista Matute, commander of the frigate *Purísima Concepción*. He dedicates this crown in fulfillment (of a vow) year 1798."

Don Juan Bautista came several times to California and in command of different vessels. Bancroft lists Caamano as captain of the *Concepción* on her 1798 California run. But the inscription on the crown is authentic and no doubt means that, while in charge of the *Concepción*, Matute made the vow to avoid some danger of the sea. The date may refer to the danger or the year in which he had the crown engraved. At any rate, it no doubt reached Carmel in 1802. The jewels and silks may also have been his gifts.

In 1804 the padres got an embroidered white silk canopy for the Blessed Sacrament and in 1805 two silver chalices, one of them gilt. There is in the Monterey museum a canopy which would fit this description; also two gilt silver chalices. There is no way of identifying the canopy and both chalices match monstrances which reached Carmel in Father Serra's time.

154

Father Lasuén's Death . . .

"June 27, 1803, in the sanctuary of San Carlos Borromeo Mission Church . . , on the gospel side and in the stone vault closest the main altar, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of the R. P. Fr. Fermín Francisco de Lasuén . . . , Apostolic Preacher General of the Propagation of the Faith, Vicar Forane of H. E. Bishop of Sonora, Commissary of the Holy Office of the Mexican Inquisition and President of these New California Missions. (He was a) native of Victoria in the principality of Alava, a member of the (Franciscan) Province of Cantabria and a colleague of the Apostolic College of Missionaries of the Propagation of the Faith of San Fernando Mexico. He received the sacraments . . . (signed) Fr. Baltasar Carnicer."

Father Lasuén had died at two p.m. the day before, after being ill abed twelve days. There were with him in his last illness and at his funeral Fathers Sitjar, Viader, Carnicer, Viñals, and Francisco Gonzáles. He was about eighty-five years old, thirty of which were spent in California, eighteen of them as president. As was customary each missionary said twenty Masses for the repose of his soul even though his successor thought that "because of his virtue and his having died with the sacraments we should piously believe that his soul enjoys God."

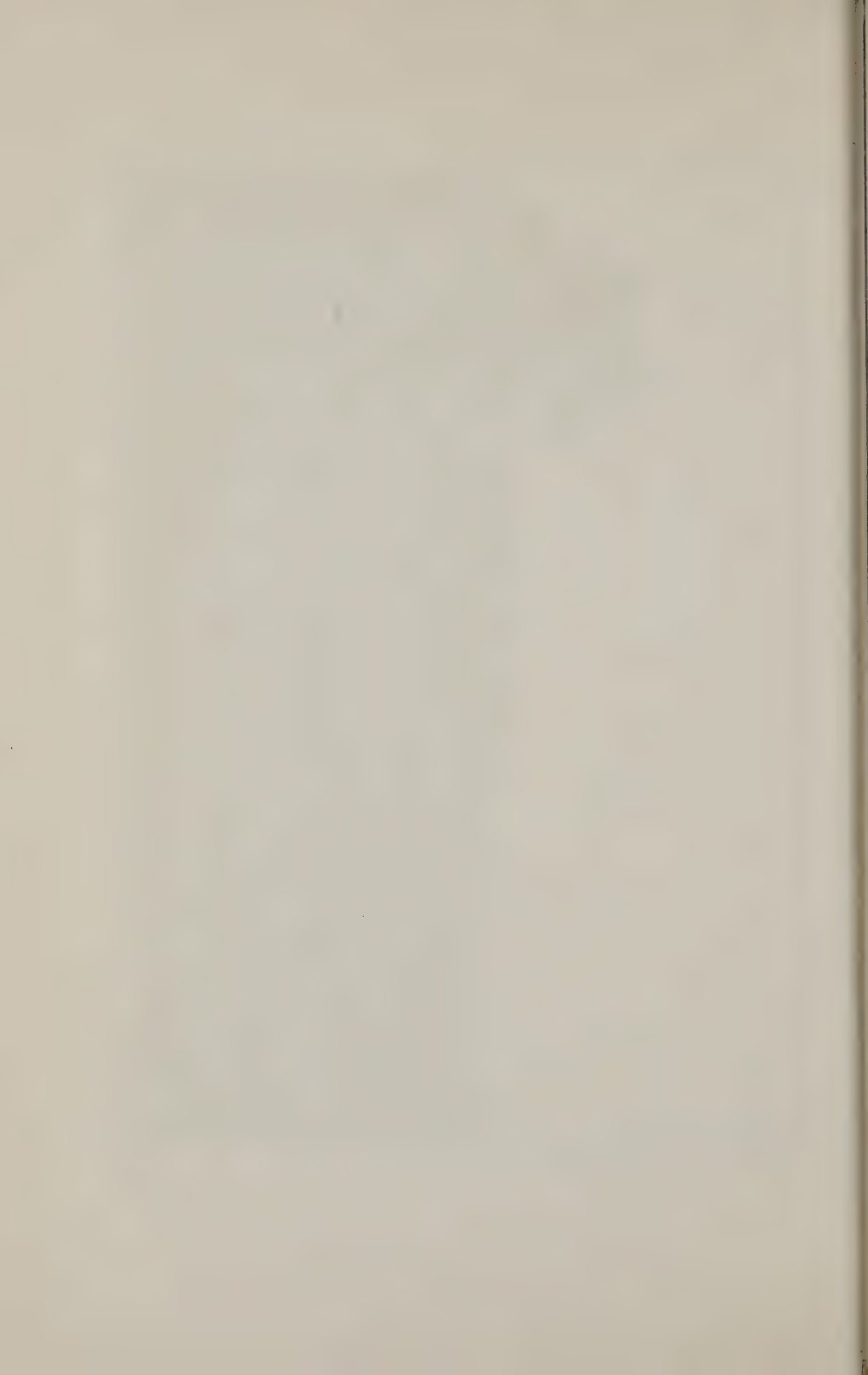
Father Estevan Tapis of Santa Barbara succeeded by virtue of a patent issued at the college January 26, 1798, and in due time received from the bishop the same faculties which had been enjoyed by Father Lasuén. The new president remained two or three years in Santa Barbara and thus for the moment Carmel ceased to be headquarters for the California missions.

Bancroft considered the second Father President above the first, both as a man and as a missionary. Father Lasuén was a kindly old man, diplomatic, courteous, able, and, no doubt, good and zealous. But to place him above Father Serra as either a man or a missionary is to be blind to the documents at our disposal. He no doubt had more natural prudence and a great deal more hesitancy about correcting abuses than had Father Serra. These qualities would indeed make those to whom he gave their way speak well of him, but they certainly do not make him more a man than the fiery little Mallorcan; nor do they make him more of a missionary than the man who with his own hand baptized the Carmel neophytes



MONTEREY IN 1792

Vancouver Expedition Sketch



while he guided the destinies of all the other missions. Father Lasuén possessed loveable qualities, but no pen on earth will ever succeed in having him replace Father Serra as California's greatest missionary and greatest hero. 155

Father Viñals . . .

Father Viñals continued probably as minister until September, 1803, then as assistant or supernumerary till August, 1804, when he got license to depart from the province. The license indicates that his health, both physical and mental, was threatened. He is said to have been a rather carefree person, of a gay temperament, with a good voice, and ready with the guitar. He was accused of evil familiarity with a San José woman. The accusation must be branded as entirely false, for there is no indication that it was ever substantiated. This may be a key to his threatened mental health, as priests falsely accused of violations of their vows very often take to brooding. Such false charges are never made except for ulterior motives. The only thing known to us which Father Viñals did that would anger any of the *gente de razón* is his effort to get the white occupants off Rancho Buenavista.

Fray Juan Amorós replaced the retiring assistant about September 10, 1804, to begin his Carmel term of fifteen years. 156

Spiritual Conquest Ends . . .

The time of Fathers Viñals and Carnicer produced scarcely any converts; in fact, only eight adults were baptized, all old and decrepit.

The arrival of Father Amorós marked a renewal of missionary work, and within less than four years he had converted the entire pagan remnant. This remnant, all that was left in the wilds after the pestilences of 1802 and 1806, numbered one hundred and twenty-seven souls. The zealous padre has recorded the termination of the conquest not only in the whole mission but also in some of the nations. December 14, 1805, the son of *Coyote Siqueis*, *capitan* of the Ensens, and of his wife, Puhajtams, was baptized. April 26, 1806, the priest blessed the marriage of Chaulis, *capitan* of Ensen, and his wife, Midienis; February 8, 1808, he blessed the union of an old couple and adds that these are all that remained of the gen-

tiles of Ensen. May 14, 1806, Chato Torres, *capitan* of Kalenda Ruc (which here seems to include Guacharron), and Torrecilla, his wife, renewed their marriage consent. August 14, 1807, he baptized six persons of Sargenta Ruc and Ecgeajan, "all the few that remained" of this nation. They included *Capitan* Pasay, his wife, and two children. Finally, May 6, 1808, he was able to record that this day he baptized four Excelens and one Ensen "the last gentiles which pertain to the conquest of the Mission San Carlos." So far as we shall ever know he was accurate except for one soul. The last pagan, native of Monterey, to receive baptism was a ninety year old woman of Ecgeajan. She received the sacrament September 17, 1808. The conquest had lasted thirty-eight years, three months, and fifteen days. It had netted fifteen hundred and twenty-three converts, that is, about forty-one a year. The grim reaper had certainly taken as heavy a pagan harvest.

157

Rancho Buenavista . . .

So far as can be learned the Ranchos Buenavista and del Rey were the only inhabited places, other than Monterey and Carmel, that remained after 1808, or, for that matter, the only other dwelling places of whites, since the 1794 failure of the other Salinas and Monterey *ranchos*. Mariano Castro and several of his relatives were the white residents of Buenavista. At least prior to 1808 there was an Indian *rancheria* on the property. In it dwelt Ensen and Pagchin natives who apparently were employed by the Castros. Carlos Castro, the son of Isidro, had baptized one or other of them when they were in danger of death, and Father Amorós apparently gathered the remnant, or at least all who were Montereyans, into the mission fold.

The padres always resented *gente de razón* occupying this fertile land. It was in Ensen Indian territory and by right should have been reserved for the mission and eventually divided among the original native owners. When Governor Borica had granted the Castros an occupancy permit, it was understood that they would vacate when the mission demanded the place. This demand was made in 1802 before Acting-Governor Arrillaga and protested by the occupants. The padres claimed immediate need because the bears were destroying too many cattle in Chamisal. This official

refused to pass judgment, left the occupants in possession, recommending that the padres prosecute the case with the permanent governor when he should come. The padres threatened to appeal to the viceroy, and Arrillaga agreed that such action would be wise. So far as is known the case ended there. The missionaries in passing say that it belonged to the presidio in 1806. This probably means that it was at the disposal of the presidio. In 1808, and no doubt later, the Castros still lived there.

The claim that the land was needed by the mission was apparently justified, for the Monterey priests in the same year tried to get Rancho San Gerónimo from Soledad Mission. This effort too failed. We do not know how their problem was solved. Probably it was at this time that they occupied the Ranchos Zanjones, alias Santa Buenaventura, and Las Salinas. The former was a cattle ranch.

The sheep, as well as the bears, may have been a problem even this early. In later years they were kept at Las Salinas Rancho but already now they merited special attention, for we find old Vicente Briones sharing his stewardship with Don Ignacio Ortega. The former is referred to as keeper of the lambs, and the latter *mayordomo* of the mission. Our reference for this is from 1805-6 but the arrangement may well have been of longer standing. The padres were not interested in crop land, and other methods could care for their growing horse herds. The government, too, had more horses than it could ever use. From 1806, at the suggestion of Father Tapis, untamed horses were shot by the hundreds. 158

A Rancho Scandal . . .

Spanish California had been founded over thirty-two years before an illegitimate child was born of a Monterey white woman, and she was a resident of the only private *rancho* in the place. The padres may have shook their heads for they always considered *rancho* residence a moral risk. They were right; it was, but it need not have been. It is always better to correct the faults in a good thing than to seek to suppress it because of its faults.

Baptism 2408 reads: "October 17, 1802 . . . I supplied the ceremonies . . . After having satisfied myself that Carlos Antonio Castro correctly baptized, on September 17 past, in the Rancho de

Buenavista (where he lives), and with the name Ramon Antonio, a recently born child, the son of an unknown father, or at least of one so far unidentified, and of María Josefa Soberanes, single, daughter of José María Soberanes and of Ana Josefa Castro.

"I think it but right to note that while this entry declares the child's father a specific (unnamed) subject, this party maintained before his naval superior not only that he is not (the father) but that he never had anything (to do) with the woman: And on the other hand, it was a year before the birth since this man would have been able to have had any relations with her. Over and above this I have grounds to presume that she declared this specific man the accomplice for were it he her parents would not be so irritated and indignant as they would be were it some one else . . . (signed) Fr. Fermín Francisco Lasuén."

Death 1546: "September 22, 1803, in San Carlos Mission Church, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the body of José Antonio (sic) Soberanes, deceased husband of Ana Josefa Castro, both natives of Sinaloa. He received the sacraments . . . (signed) Fr. Baltasar Carnicer."

Marriage 663: "September 17, 1804, in the Royal Presidio Chapel . . . I joined in marriage . . . Don José Antonio Navarrete, single, master of the frigate *Princesa*, anchored in the port of Monterey, a native of Tepic . . . and María Josefa Soberanes, single, a native of San Carlos Mission, daughter of José María Soberanes (deceased) and Ana Josefa Castro, residents (now) of the said presidio . . . Witnesses Rafael Arriola, native of Guadalajara and Don Juan de la Torre, native of Cadíz . . . (signed) Fr. Baltasar Carnicer."

Father Carnicer does not finish what Father Lasuén began, so we do not know whether Don José Antonio was the man Josefa accused or not. These names do not recur in the books, so it is to be presumed that both went to Mexico on the *Princesa*.

The Clergy . . .

Father Amorós who replaced Father Viñals may have been assistant minister, with Father Carnicer in charge till this priest left. If so, the arrangement was only formal. Father Carnicer took care of the presidio and Father Amorós had full charge of the neophytes

and Carmel's *gente de razón*. Father Carnicer was given permit to retire to Mexico in 1808. His last recorded Monterey function is November 28, 1807, but Bancroft says he left in August or September the next year.

Meanwhile, probably as early as November, 1805, Father President Estevan Tapis transferred his residence to Carmel. From February, 1806 on, we find him helping Father Amorós, thus leaving Father Carnicer free for Monterey. This priest may not have been well during his last year in California. Records of presidio functions for that time are not signed by him. From about June to August, 1809, the Father President's name is absent but Fray Francisco Suñer aided Father Amorós from October 1808 till July 1809.

As usual, there were diocesan priests who came as chaplains on the transports; only the name of Don Nicolás de Loëra from the year 1803 appears in the Monterey books. He was a veteran in this service. January 3, 1805, the *Concepción* from Manila departed from Monterey, leaving behind the physician, Manuel Torres, and Fray Francisco Farnesi, an Italian Franciscan, who had been a missionary to China. He could not stand the climate there, but was so pleased with California that he would have devoted the rest of his life to its missions. The jealous Spanish government, however, wanted no foreigners. He had to leave on the next transport. He recorded no function at Monterey or Carmel. 159

Carmel Improvements . . .

The energetic Father Amorós seems to have had no difficulty doing what his predecessors found impossible. He got the neophytes into Spanish dwellings. In 1806 fifty-two little houses and in 1807 an additional thirty-seven were erected. They were to the right of the church as one enters the main door. In 1807 the buildings occupied by the mission guards and their families were renovated and tiled. In 1806 a pulpit was put in the mission church and from 1806 to 1808 four side altars with shrines were added, one of them large and one dedicated to the rosary. They purchased twenty-four imitation bouquets made of tin and a set of gilt wood altar cards. In 1808 they acquired the silver processional cross still in church possession and a gold-encased second-class relic of San Carlos Borromeo which has since disappeared. 160

Gente de Razón . . .

March 26, 1804, Upper and Lower California were divided. Arrillaga, who had been lieutenant governor and then temporary governor of both Californias with residence at Loreto, now became the first governor of Alta California. He reached Monterey, his capital, January 20, 1806.

The Catalonian Volunteers who had come to reinforce the *cuera* soldiers during the supposed danger of invasion left California in 1803. Their places were taken by soldiers who had retired, but in 1805 the government called for enlistments and enough recruits answered to complete the quotas. The quality of the new soldiers was poor. As Catholics they were on the whole nothing to be proud of. If the estimates of population be correct, about one-third made their Easter duty in 1805; men fifty-three, women seventy-eight.

The health of Californians was safeguarded in these years by Don Juan de Dios Morelos ('01-'02), Don Manuel Torres ('02-'03), Don José M. Benites ('03-'07), Don Manuel Quijano ('07-'24), all residents of Monterey, and all surgeons in the service of His Majesty. Don Pablo Soler had left in 1800 at his own request. In 1804 Don José Benites, with the help of the fathers, studied the conditions under which the Mexican soldiers and the Indians lived to learn why the death rate was so high. He thought that the damp climate and constant fogs of Monterey were not conducive to health. Bad water, filthy houses, dislike for vegetables, and failure to change wet clothes were considered responsible for ill health among the soldiers. The filthy living conditions, the habits of sleeping huddled together, of interchanging clothing, and of staying awake nights shouting, dancing, and gambling, together with excessive use of the sweat house were considered the cause of the Indians' ailments. The part about passing the nights in excessive activity evidently refers to pagan Indians.

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X

Tallow, Trade, Taxes, and Souls

(10½ Years 1809 - 1819)

Mexican help to mission and presidio ceased in 1811, and California was thrown on its own resources with the missions the backbone of its support. Articles which could not be made in the province were obtained by barter from Spanish, Russian, American, and English vessels. During the latter years of Father Amorós' incumbency the mission buildings attained their most completed form and best condition. But at this very time the local Indians were giving clear signs of fast becoming an extinct race.

The first English-speaking residents arrived in 1814. Argentine freebooters (or since the revolution won, we may call them patriots) without provocation raided and partly destroyed Monterey. Father Amorós was Carmel's predominant ecclesiastical figure, but Father de Sarria, his superior, was often there though his duties led him to visit all the missions.

The Clergy . . .

Father Amorós continued in charge at Carmel and Monterey for these eleven years. After the departure of Father Suñer, Father President Tapis aided him until February, 1810. Fray Vicente Francisco de Sarria came in August, 1809. His first entry is the sixth. He was senior to Father Amorós and may have been nominally the minister. Both these men rank high in the lists of California priests; even Bancroft sings their praises. Under them the mission progressed spiritually and materially despite discontinuance of *Pious Fund* receipts, high Indian mortality, and heavy gubernatorial drafts.

It is unlikely that Fray Juan Amorós could speak either Rumsen or Excelen, though they say he was gifted in business, agriculture, mechanics, etc. Father de Sarria seems to have been acquainted with both tongues, at least the fragments in these languages that have survived from the teens of the 19th century are in his neat, precise script. This does not mean that Father Juan was not interested in his native charges. The care with which he kept personal check on each in the parochial books and his comments therein indicate that he deeply loved his church and her wild children.

Because of the surgeon's residence at Monterey, padres who were ill used to come and stay there under his care for short periods. While recuperating they would attend the spiritual needs of the garrison. For example, Fray Marcelino Marquines of Santa Cruz spent a couple of months at the presidio in 1817-1818, and had been there some weeks at the time of Father Quintana's murder at Santa Cruz. Soldiers likewise were given leaves to Monterey for medical reasons. 162

Heads of Church and State in California . . .

At five p.m., August 10, 1809, Governor Arrillaga swore allegiance in the Carmel church to the new Spanish king, Don Fernando VII. Fathers Tapis, de Sarria, and Amorós, Surgeon Quijano, Ensign Estrada, and others were witnesses. The oath was taken before the crucifix with one hand on the gospels and the other on his sword hilt.

July 25, 1814, Arrillaga breathed his last in the dwelling of his friend, Father Ibanez, at Soledad Mission. Don José Darío Argüello of Santa Barbara became temporary governor and ruled from that presidio until Lieutenant Colonel Pablo Vicente de Solá, the new governor, reached Monterey on the *Paz y Religion* August 30, 1815. A few days afterwards de Solá was inaugurated at Monterey and two days later went to Carmel for another formal affair. In American times Juan Bautista Alvarado gave all the purported details of this great celebration, but since he was only six years old at the time it took place it is wiser to suppose that his account is a mixture of memory, tradition, and imagination, all too interwoven to be separated.

In December, 1812, Fray José Seán succeeded Father Tapis as president of the missions. This change had been effected in Mexico City July 13, and at the same time the college announced the new office, commissary prefect. Father de Sarría was appointed to it. Word of this reached California in July, 1813. In effect this divided between two men the ancient duties of the president. Father Seán had resided in San Buenaventura and continued there, while Father de Sarría kept his abode at Carmel but traveled much. The president, henceforth, represented the college, and the prefect the Franciscan commissary general of the Indies. The president still functioned as vicar forane of the bishop.

Father de Sarría held the office six years and six months. But since in the six months no successor had been appointed, his duties automatically passed to the president, who at that time was Fray Mariano Payeras. He had succeeded Father Seán November 22, 1815. Meanwhile, however, some directive must have come from superiors in Mexico or Spain ordering the prefect to inspect the mission registers. The first *visita* of such books at Carmel is dated May 12, 1817. About the same time the prefect issued some pastorals on the duties of missionaries and pastors.

The office of prefect remained vacant over a year. April 1, 1820, Father Payeras assumed these duties and Father Seán became president. With Father de Sarría's retirement from office, presumably January 13, 1820, Carmel ceased to be the residence of the highest ranking Franciscan in the province.

The Neophytes . . .

From 1809 most adult neophytes received Viaticum in preparation for death. By 1813 it was fifteen out of twenty, or nearly all, that were not overtaken by death without due warning. Still in 1818 of three hundred and ten neophytes confessed only one hundred and thirty received Communion. This is partly explained by the fact that first Communion was delayed probably three or more years after first confession.

Some natives tilled their own little plots of land. The only one named in the Carmel books is Gaspár, a Lower Californian, who had a *milpeño* at an unidentified place; but Father Amorós speaks of the private vegetable gardens of the natives in his 1814 *Respuesta*. Throughout all these years, Pastor and his wife, Bernardina, are referred to as the mission gardeners, meaning no doubt that the community garden was entirely under their direction.

Other Indians with specific duties or trades are also recorded. For years Maximiano Solol functioned as sacristan at Carmel, probably immediately succeeding Conrado de Toledo. Diego, the carpenter, had gone to live at Soledad, but Guido, José Leonisa, and Gasparillo served Carmel as workers in wood for many years. Honorio was a stonemason and Lázaro a master smith. Another Carmel smith, Donato, was in the service of Soledad but he used to visit his old home. Gerónimo and Pablo were *cantores*, Luis boss of the common laborers, Domingo chief shepherd at the Salinas Rancho, Onésimo a shoemaker, Candido and Teofisto *vaqueros*, Antonio a tanner, and Pacifico head herdsman. This by no means exhausts the 1809-1819 list of neophyte specialists, but these are the only names that are preserved in the parochial books.

There must have been a goodly number of Indian *vaqueros*, for at the time of the Bouchard scare each mission, including Carmel, had to furnish about twenty for service with the troops. In 1818 it became illegal for any Indian to ride a horse unless he happened to be a duly appointed mission *vaquero*. The padre did the choosing and the numbers thus trained were to be just sufficient for the needs of the province.

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Mission Ranchos . . .

El Rancho de los Borregos de las Salinas is frequently mentioned in

the records. Besides Domingo and his family, there seem to have lived there at all times at least two other neophyte families. The following names are recorded, but no more than two occur in any one year: Sabas, Gregorio, Magin, Matías, Gelasio, and José Acacio. There may have been soldier guards at the place; one child born there was baptized by Private Anastasio Albisu. Magin lost his life at or near this *ranchito* when he was attacked by a bear.

The Rancho de Zanjones may have been visited only in certain seasons. It is first named in June, 1813, as the birthplace of a child of the neophytes, Francisco and Josefa. Had Christian Indians resided there it would have been the locale of further vital items. It does not again recur. It may be presumed that the cattle grazed there either only occasionally or unattended.

The farms and ranches in the Carmel Valley certainly had no neophyte residents except the so-called Rancho de Convaleciente. The location of this place is not given but neophytes who were unwell went there in the hope that the change would benefit them. No provisions were made for spiritual care at any of these places.

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Some Entries by Father Amorós . . .

"In May, 1811, Estefana . . . disappeared . . . nothing was learned of her despite many inquiries . . . it is judged they killed her or that some beast devoured her . . . January 20, 1813, I, myself, found and identified the remains of the aforementioned . . . her body was encountered between El Sausal and the front of the large garden on the other side of the river, where this day I ordered placed a cross . . . the body . . . had been eaten by animals . . .

"June 21, 1813 . . . Matiana . . . died suddenly from the sting of a serpent (received) in the place (called) Los Laurelles . . . July 1, 1813 . . . I gave church burial to a lad called Solomon Calenda, aged fifteen, deaf and dumb . . . He received instructions by signs as well as they could be given . . . December 25, 1817 . . . At three-thirty a.m., after having ended the function of this most holy night I baptized in one of the *rancheria* houses a newborn babe in danger of death . . .

"January 11, 1818 . . . Urbano Vilalba . . . had gone into the wilds or *tulares* of this mission to distract himself or mitigate his sorrow somewhat after the death of a relative, and as he was him-

self ailing he followed the same path we all must tread. When he was found it was already four days after his death and he stunk, so they buried him where he died and placed there a cross expecting in due time to transfer his bones to the cemetery . . .

"March 20, 1818, (there was buried) . . . Orosio Sichom, husband of Maura. He received all the sacraments and afterwards reconciled himself (to his fate), many times giving special expressions of faith and contrition with many ejaculations which were to the edification of the Indians . . .

"September 29, 1818, (there was buried) . . . Gaspár de los Reyes, single. He died suddenly and so without the sacraments. In truth he was a somewhat simple-minded soul, very exact in doing what he was told and always at Mass and prayers even though he understood nothing. His death to me seems like that of an innocent babe . . . (signed) F. Juan Amorós."

Other Neaphyte Matters . . .

Each year the *alcaldes* and *regidores* were elected and the names sent to the governor. There is no record of any murmuring on the part of the natives against the padres. Immorality or rather unmorality, which had been the pagan Indians' heritage, seems to have given place to a normal Christian attitude and practice. We find but one adulterous neophyte child and three resulting from fornication. This Indian record is really better than the white in neighboring Monterey.

The mission Indians diminished from five hundred and fifty in 1808 to three hundred and ninety-seven in 1819. This means that during the decade the whites obtained a numerical superiority and this even though the Indian birth rate was notably higher. This latter phenomenon resulted from the relatively low average age of the remaining natives and not from physiological causes. Both Church and State realized that the race was disappearing. To the credit of both it must be said that the fact was sincerely regretted but the officials of each were equally powerless. It is unlikely that any contemporary individual, system, or medical knowledge could have halted the disintegration that had set in unless perhaps inland or northern natives had been imported. Such importations, however, were not acceptable to the foreign Indians nor, therefore, to

the padres. It is true that many neophytes of other missions came to live at Carmel, but their numbers were more than offset by *Carmeleños* who transferred elsewhere.

Pagan Indians reaching Monterey from any point outside Carmel territory seldom became subject to the missionaries. Even Christian natives from outside the pale of the California mission chain are listed as presidial and not as mission Indians. 166

Carmel Gente de Razón . . .

One José Pliego was a mission weaver in 1810. A person of this name lived at San José before 1800, and a Narciso Pliego was master of tailors at Soledad Mission in 1818. This latter office, by the way, was filled at Carmel by Eleuterio Villavicencio from 1812 to 1814 and probably for some years afterwards. He arrived at Carmel with a brother, José Antonio, before December, 1812. The brother later joined the army. Serafina Espinosa and Gertrude Lugo were soldiers' widows who preferred to live at the mission rather than in the presidio. Mariano Castro lived there in 1815 and Francisco Albisu in 1818; both were married. In these years Tomás Escamilla was in charge of the mission guard. He seems to have been a devout man and quite acceptable to the padres.

"May 4, 1813, in San Carlos Mis'n Church I gave ecclesiastical burial . . . to Vicente Briones, a widower and retired corporal, (who was) steward of this mission about thirty years. (He was) one of the first *conquistadores* of this land in the year 1770 . . . He died the third at about seven p.m. . . (signed) Fr. Vicente Francisco de Sarría." The next *mayordomo* named in the books is Luis Romero. He seems not to have had as much to say about the place as had old Vicente. At any rate, he is sometimes referred to merely as *sirvi-ente* of the mission. His name first appears in February, 1819, but his services may have begun a year or so earlier. 167

The Mission Buildings and Furniture . . .

In 1809 there came from the College of San Fernando an order that all the padres' books should be inscribed "pertaining to the College of San Fernando." There was some apprehension that the missions might be turned over to diocesan clergy and there was to be no ground for the newcomers to claim the libraries.

The order is illustrative of the smallness that marks many churchmen as well as others. Nearly all the books were no doubt personal property of the Franciscans in that they had been purchased with their *Pious Fund* salary, but why do men begrudge a poor successor even the small advantage of a mediocre library when the place to which they are going often has a better one? The Carmel books were duly inscribed. In some missions the name *S. Fernando* was branded into the leaf edges at the top of the book.

In 1809 Carmel acquired a dozen silver candlesticks and the wooden statues of Saints Michael, Rafael, and Antonio. The statues are still there but the candlesticks are not sufficiently described to be identified with any still in use. Another dozen tin bouquets were got for the altars. In the next year they acquired a *Via Crucis*, meaning no doubt a new set of fourteen hand painted scenes representing as many episodes in the Passion of Our Lord. The set of stations now in the Monterey church is said to have come from Carmel, whereas that in Carmel is supposed to have once graced the walls of Soledad Mission. The authority is Monsignor Mestres, but his testimony is seldom entirely trustworthy.

In this same year two bells, one of nine hundred pounds and the other of six hundred and seventy-five, were hung, and three of the side altars were painted. In 1814 they had to remove the beautiful (stone?) vault of the church because it had become a danger. A board ceiling took its place. There had been severe earthquakes in California in 1812 and these may have caused this condition.

In 1814 they did extensive repair work on other mission structures and erected twenty-two *varas* of buildings. In 1815 by the addition of fifty *varas* more, they closed the quadrangle which thus for the first time since the mission foundation became a completed work.

Meanwhile, in 1813 they built two lodges for the sick: one for men, the other for women. The location of these is not given but it is likely that they were not at the Rancho del Convaleciente.

After 1815 the padres contented themselves with keeping the premises in good repair, except that in 1817 they built a chapel onto the church. This is said to have served also to reinforce the wall against the strong south winds. It was somewhat decorated and was dedicated to Our Lord's Passion. This room still stands. The en-

trance from the church is a great carved stone doorway which seems to be a work of Carmel's original builder and which no doubt till then served as the courtyard entrance. The doorways which now lead to the quadrangle, both from this chapel and from the church, are quite small and unadorned. In the following year they installed and painted the altar of this new chapel. 168

Government Levies . . .

The last vessels to bring up the *memorias* or articles purchased in Mexico with *Pious Fund* stipends were those of 1810. For this reason Carmel thenceforth lost eight hundred dollars a year, the salaries of its two missionaries. This made no appreciable difference, for the mission was well able to pay its own way and that of its priests, servants, and neophytes, but the failure of these ships did create other serious, if not unbearable, burdens for Carmel.

Supplies ceased to the presidios and settlers as well as to the missions. All these articles could have been obtained elsewhere easily enough had the government sent in cash the *Pious Fund* revenues and the pay for its civil servants, but neither cash nor kind was dispatched. The reason given for the government's failure was the Hidalgo Revolt and the subsequent disorders (1810-1817). In fact, this was hardly a legitimate reason for not sending cash and did not excuse transmission in kind except perhaps in one or two years.

Even this official negligence would have meant nothing at all in California had the settlers and local civil and military personnel provided for themselves as well as did the Indians. In other words, the natives under Franciscan management were not only thoroughly self-supporting and self-sufficient, but they were now called on to and did support the civil and military personnel. This they did without serious objection, and so far as can be seen at Carmel, without impairing the material or spiritual condition of the mission.

Some hold that it was unjust to force the missions to support the army and civil servants and that the soldiers should have been put to work to earn their own way. It has been pointed out that the settlers and retired soldiers were for the most part shiftless and that they should have been made to work. These indictments are not all true. Soldiering is a profession and those following it have a strict right to sufficient pay to keep themselves and their families, and

they should not be expected to work at other things. Civil servants likewise are entitled to a decent living from the state treasury. Many settlers and retired soldiers were shiftless, and without doubt that flaw should have been remedied. It was not.

The missions were in fact the only really going concerns in the province. Insofar as they were churches and monasteries the government had no right to tax and did not tax them. But insofar as they were community farms, co-operative workshops, and communal ranches they could and should have been taxed. The fact that they existed for the present spiritual and material benefit of the neophyte community and for eventual distribution among the individuals of that community in no way exempted them. The government and its military force existed for the benefit of the neophyte as well as of the padres, retired soldiers, and settlers. In justice all were obliged to support it.

The fathers did meet all government levies, and in Spanish times these were in fact lighter than they could and probably should have been. The missions were given worthless drafts on the royal treasury but that does not change the fact. Call the levies what we will, they were a tax imposed on the temporalities of the missions. The tax was most reasonable, for in these years the governor was careful not to offend the padres. The padres did grumble when they and their neophytes worked hard and prospered and therefore were the more heavily assessed, while the *gente de razón* did little or nothing and consequently had nothing to tax. Grumbling, of course, is neither a solution nor even a constructive criticism. But again we must remember that the California padre was quite human and no more farsighted than we are today.

It is not improbable that de Solá's 1818 decree claiming all unbranded cattle for the king was issued so that the military and settlers could hunt the mission stock, and thus have tallow and hides to trade as well as food to eat. There is no reason to doubt that the so-called unbranded cattle were mission stock. The license may have meant little in fact, at least as far as Carmel was concerned, for from 1812 the soldiers stole and slaughtered the mission cattle without let or hindrance.

The formal letter of Father de Sarría directing the missions to aid the presidios is dated February 16, 1815, but even before that

help was given. Father Amorós of San Carlos replied that he had no spare flour but that he would continue to send *serapes* as he had been doing. He adds that at this time he did not have enough wool to clothe his Indians, and the *serapes*, of course, were woollen. In this year there were four hundred and twenty-three neophytes and twenty-five hundred and twenty-seven sheep. The wheat was not particularly abundant, only five hundred and eleven *fanegas*, but the entire grain harvest was thirteen hundred and thirty *fanegas*. The father was accurate in saying that he could not spare cereals, but it did not take a dozen sheep to keep each neophyte clothed.

We must remember that the Franciscans fought against the establishment of *ranchos* and that they often murmured when settlers' produce was given government preference in commercial transactions. They were only upholding Indian rights in these matters and so must not be accused of selfishness. It is evident enough to us now that they were shortsighted, but we enjoy the vantage point of time. We may reasonably suppose, however, that they should have known that "they could not have their cake and eat it too." Farseeing padres would have gladly taken over the adequate financing of the province and demanded in return more missions, better colonists, and better safeguards of neophyte rights.

Just how much hyperbole is in the letter of Father Amorós to Governor de Solá is hard to say. He claims that Carmel's Indians go barefooted to shoe the troops, and that they give their butter and beans to the soldiers. Earlier accounts, however, say that the padres never gave salt or butter to neophytes as it had been found to injure their health. This letter was written in 1816. In the next year the levy put on Carmel for support of the troops was only fifty dollars. This meant the Father President considered it one of the poorest missions at that time. The next best was taxed one hundred dollars; the best, four hundred.

Merchant Vessels . . .

News of the termination of the government supply service eventually reached Peru, and a merchant of Lima, Don José de Cavenecia, attempted regular merchandizing service. His only competitors were British, American, and Russian vessels which followed no particular schedule. As things developed he could not come every year,

but Californians survived by legal and illegal trading with him and with occasional callers, both national and foreign.

In 1809 the *Princesa* and *San Carlos* brought supplies in May. In July and August, 1810, the *Activo* and *Princesa* were in port, and in the previous month the schooner, *Mosca*, en route from Manila to San Blas, had called at Monterey. The 1810 chaplain of the *Princesa* was Don José Antonio Jiménez, a diocesan priest. No vessel of any type or nation seems to have entered Monterey Bay in 1811 or 1812, though there were American and Russian otter hunters in California waters in both these years.

Cavenecia's vessels, *La Tagle* or *Santa Catalina* and *Flora*, came in 1813. The frigate, *La Tagle*, was at Monterey in August. Her chaplain was Fray José Vicente Orrego, S.T.L., Franciscan of the Province of the Holy Trinity of Chile. The *Flora* under Noé had captured the American smuggler, *Mercury*, off Santa Barbara, and Noé visited several California ports including Monterey in his prize. These vessels brought cloth and other merchandise to barter for tallow, hides, and other California produce.

May, 1814, *La Tagle* was back at Monterey. She had the same chaplain and was commanded by her owner. Among other merchandise Carmel bought some iron pots for the neophytes. A child was born aboard this vessel May 8 while it lay at anchor in the port. He was the son of the deceased Don Benito Díaz de la Vega, official of San Blas, and his wife, Doña Paula de Argüello, a native of Monterey. In 1815-1816 the ports of Peru were blockaded by the rebel government of Argentina, so no Lima ships came. December 5, 1814, Don José Verdía, pilot of the brigantine, *Activo*, was buried in Carmel cemetery. This need not mean that the vessel had been at Monterey about that time. He may have been ill and left under the padres' care in 1810.

The missions, the government (largely with mission produce), and individuals were forced from 1814 to trade, almost as a rule, with foreign vessels. This commerce was usually illegal, but the Spanish laws which forbade it seldom bound in conscience because they were manifestly unjust. The province had no other means of getting what it needed. Apart from this, it is doubtful that they could be enforced.

Between 1811 and 1813 John Jacob Astor had founded a colony

of Americans at the mouth of the Columbia River. In 1813 and 1814 the English planned and accomplished its seizure only to be ousted again by American diplomacy. The English, of course, retained Nootka. Meanwhile, the Russians became quite bold and descended as far south as Bodega Bay where they started their short-lived settlement, or probably we should call it a factory. The place is called Fort Ross and was inaugurated in 1812. The fur bearing creatures of land and sea brought nearly all these foreign craft into California waters.

The *Isaac Todd* (English) en route to the Columbia stopped at Monterey in January-February, 1814. Most of the crew had scurvy and were landed, refreshed, and kindly treated. Meanwhile, HMS *Raccoon* entered San Francisco Bay in a crippled condition, and the British commander ordered the *Isaac Todd* to come and repair her. Eight of the latter's sailors deserted lest they be pressed into service on the *Raccoon*, and three who had not recovered were left behind.

From November 24 to December 18 the *Columbia*, also a British vessel from the Columbia River venture, ported at Monterey. There was much friendly intercourse between the newcomers and the Spaniards. With the viceroy's permission there was a considerable exchange of goods. The cooper remained at Monterey to cure the meat purchased and was picked up in July or August, 1815, when the vessel returned after a trip to Canton. On this occasion eight who had deserted the previous December and four of those who abandoned the *Isaac Todd* were given over to the *Columbia's* captain. Further trade took place under the watchful eye of the governor.

January 31, 1816, Don Lorenzo Eberhard, a native of Flanders and pilot of the corvette, *Paz y Religion*, was buried in Monterey. There seems to be no record of any visit of this vessel at this time. The pilot may have been left behind when the vessel departed after leaving Governor de Solá. July 22 the American *Sultan* arrived, and in August the Spanish *Colonel* traded at Monterey, but Father Amorós had only some *serapes* to merchandize. Late in October the *San Carlos* arrived with war supplies and a badly damaged cargo. There were no *memorias* for the missions, and *San Carlos* probably took none of the merchandise. The chaplain on this trip was Fray Juan Lucio de Sainz, probably a Fernandino.

In the spring of 1817 the American *Atalá* and the Russian *Chirikof* were at Monterey. The latter at least exchanged goods for grain despite Governor de Solá's halfhearted prohibition. The American *Traveller* visited in February or June, or probably in both months, selling seven hundred dollars worth of clothes to the soldiers. The Lima ships of Cavenecia returned this year. They were the *San Antonio* and the *Hermosa Mexicana*. They came in August and September respectively, and were probably still in port when the Panama merchantman, *Casadora*, arrived. The *San Antonio* left in November, the *Casadora* in December. There must have been considerable trade with all neighboring missions. Carmel got new linens for the altars and articles for the Indians. The chief California commodity in these years was tallow.

No Lima ships came in 1818, but the Manila galleon, *San Ruperto*, with a scurvy-stricken crew, ported at Monterey and sold fourteen thousand dollars worth of goods to the presidio. In the spring, the English war sloop, *Blossom*, called for provisions. In September the Russian *Kutusov* and a sister vessel visited Monterey and, no doubt as usual, exchanged manufactured goods for grain.

The actual amount of trade seems not to have satisfied the needs, much less the conveniences, of Californians. Captain Wilcox of the *Traveller* remarks that most Montereyans, including the troops and even the padres, had insufficient wearing apparel. He even suggests that in some instances the people could not attend Mass for want of clothing. The padres also lacked adequate church furniture and agricultural implements.

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Monterey Before the Bouchard Raid . . .

In the 19th century teens Monterey consisted of about fifty, one story houses built in a quadrangle 175x128 *varas*, surrounded by a stone wall 18 feet high. The church, a small gate, and a two room house were on the south side; the governor's house on the west; that of the second in command and the warehouses on the east; and on the north the principal entrance, guard house, and jail. There were other dwellings on all but the north side, and five of them were re-roofed in 1816. In the center were two field pieces, six pounders. There were some farm houses scattered over the plain and many large herds of cattle and sheep. A fort commanded the landing place

and mounted ten brass twelve pounders well supplied with copper shots. At the anchorage was a battery of two long nine pounders.

Some of the lesser known but important characters at the presidio were: Pablo Cibrian and Felipe García, blacksmiths; Leocadio Martínez, carpenter; José Castillo, bleeder; José Guadalupe Avila, silversmith; and Gertrudis del Castillo de Cantua, midwife.

Peter Corney, who visited the capital in 1814 and 1815, gave most of the description here used. He estimates the population at four hundred, and adds: "They keep the Indians under great subjection, making them work very hard, chained two by two." This statement is to say the least misleading. Only if restricted to Indians who were convicts at the presidio and who could not be trusted, is it to be considered true. There is no real evidence that California Spanish military ever employed anything but voluntary and compensated Indian labor unless, of course, in the case of criminals.

The number of families who had taken up residence outside the presidio walls is uncertain. Corney says that the short battery was manned by about thirty soldiers. Why he gives this information and says nothing about the numbers at the fort is not apparent, but it hardly means that they dwelt near their guns. The Monterey parochial books mention the following extramural Montereyans: Manuel Boronda (1818), Julian Cantua (1815), Felipe García (1815), Toribio Martínez (1817), Luis Romero (1817), and José Armenta (1817). To these Alvarado and Vallejo add one Cayuelas. Alvarado says that *Tia* Boronda and *Tios* Armenta and Cayuelas had shops. These witnesses have been so often proved false that we cannot be sure of their testimony.

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The Presidio Church and School . . .

"October 22, 1811, in the Royal Presidio Chapel I baptized . . . María Josefa de García (Soberanes) . . . the first that has been baptized in the new and first baptistery of Monterey . . . (signed) Fr. Vicente Fran'co de Sarria." There seems to have been some argument about where presidial baptisms should take place and the padres may have objected to the Monterey chapel because it had no baptistery. It was apparently to end the problem that the governor ordered this place prepared. It was likely in the church building to the right of the main entrance.

The first recorded sacristan at the presidio chapel is Rafael Villavicencio (1810), a retired soldier. Fermín Cordero (1813) next appears and then José Manuel Boronda, a retired corporal, who served from 1814 till some unknown date between 1817 and 1821 when he was succeeded by Juan Higuera.

The same unreliable witnesses who were quoted above have much to say on the Monterey schools of these days. The value of their account may be judged by the statement that one day the boys left the school door open and chickens got into the school room overturning ink bottles onto the neatly copied storekeeper's accounts. They add that the storekeeper had school boys copying his accounts for transmission to Mexico City! It is regrettable that the vanity of these men, who were in a position to fill in our history gaps, led them instead to fabricate stories glorifying themselves and often calumniating others.

Manuel Boronda, who had retired with the rank of corporal at San Francisco, was teacher of children at Monterey, as well as sacristan, before the arrival of Governor de Solá, and he continued in this position till an unknown date in 1817. He is referred to at the time as an *hombre anciano*. He died in 1826. There is no good reason to doubt the word of Inocenta Pico de Avila that in de Solá's time there was also a school for girls, or that the padres used to give sweets to the children after Mass and reward those most proficient in Christian doctrine. Even the note of Bancroft that there may have been two schools for boys is confirmed by the fact that the retired soldier, Miguel Archuleta, who died in 1822, was teacher at that time of *primeras letras*. This statement supposes *segundas letras* at least. He did not precede Boronda as a teacher, for he is listed as a soldier when Boronda was already teaching. Vallejo mentions, and probably rightly, that Matías Guerrero also taught the boys and that Antonio Buelna conducted the girls' school.

We know nothing further of these schools, but the accounts of cruelties elaborated upon by the false witnesses mentioned above, their statements that only religious books (including novenas!) were allowed and that Ripalda's catechism was a *beté noir* are baseless, mean, and unworthy of their authors. "Juan Bautista Alvarado, pupil of Archuleta during this decade," was born in 1809 and Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo was a year older. The only schooling

either of them got was in the Spanish classroom at Monterey. Probably if a bit more religious training had been imparted they would have had more respect for truth, virtue, and Indians' lands. Whatever the defects of the institution, these very men were able to pass among the conquering Americans of the next generation at least as equals in instruction.

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Bits of Gossip . . .

"January 28, 1809 . . . I . . . baptized a recently born white child which in the early morning of this day the retired soldier, Luis Romero, found in the doorway of his house . . . at Monterey . . . The godparents were Luis Romero and his wife, María Lugo . . . January 1, 1810 . . . I . . . baptized a child born the day before . . . of an unknown father and of María Michaela Mendoza . . . recently wed to José María Aceves, soldier . . . November 30, 1815 . . . I . . . baptized a child born the day before . . . He was presented by an old man who does not have a bad reputation . . . He said that a woman had given birth to the child in his house so that her secret might be kept and that he did her the favor of bringing the child for baptism. When asked if he knew the father of the child, he answered that he knew nothing of this. Since this case is occult the name of the mother is not given here . . . If it becomes public this can be added and also the name of the sponsor who was that old man. (The child) is white . . . December 13 he died and was buried . . . next day . . .

"July 17, 1817 . . . I baptized a baby abandoned and found in the doorway of Luis Romero . . . who lives near the presidio . . . It is newborn and on the morning of the same day the wife of the said Luis presented it for baptism . . . She was the sponsor and she agreed to raise the infant . . . she received the name Juana Andrea . . . (and is) white . . . August 2, 1817 . . . I baptized a newborn babe of unknown parentage . . . his godmother was Gertrudis Lugo, a resident of the mission, and at my request she consented to raise the infant, but after a few days he died . . . (he was) white . . . (signed) F. Juan Amorós."

Let no man speak too harshly of the morals of this frontier community because of these cases of illegitimacy. They are all that occurred in the eleven year period and probably involve only two

or three women. One of them married before the birth of her child. The similarity of disposal in three cases suggests the same sinner.

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First Foreign Residents . . .

The first foreign resident of California was Antonio Alegre, the Genoese of whom there has already been mention. In 1814 came John Gilroy, whose true name is said to have been Cameron; Antonio Rocha, a Portuguese; Julian Malcolm or Malcolmson; and James Baldwin. John Mulligan, or Milligan, the Irish weaver, may have arrived on the same occasion. Gilroy, Malcolm, and Baldwin were left behind suffering from scurvy when the *Isaac Todd* sailed out of Monterey Bay. Eight others deserted her at the same time. Rocha and Milligan may have been among them. Both were Catholics and would have remained in California when the rest of the fugitives and others who had left the *Columbia* were returned to this vessel on the occasion of her 1815 visit.

Monterey's first Chinese resident came as cook with Governor de Solá. He was Ah Nam, a native of Chinsan, some six leagues from Macao in Canton Province. He became a Christian October 27, 1815, and died two years later.

Both Gilroy and Malcolm were of English birth with Scotch fathers and English mothers and both became Catholics September 29, 1814. Baldwin also was born in England. His mother was English and his father Irish. He became a Catholic November 12, 1814.

In 1816 Thomas Doak was left behind by the *Lydia*, and other sailors whose names first appear as California residents in this year are George Mayo and Marcus Masson. The latter seems to have gone to Manila soon afterwards. In 1817 Samuel Grover arrived. All these men were from Boston, or its vicinity, and all entered the Catholic Church while in Monterey. The only one whose ancestry is clearly given is Masson whose father is said to be Irish. Doak's parents may have been Huguenots. These were Monterey's first Americans. Juan María Romero (sic), an Irish resident, appears in 1816 as interpreter for some English-speaking visitors. 174

Russian Indians . . .

In 1809 two Indians from the Russian establishments (in the far north), Columba and Andrés, reached Monterey—just how seems

unrecorded. Columba lived at the mission in the house of the *mayordomo*. The padres seem not to have bothered about them till they were in danger of death two years later. Both died in 1811 and both were Christians of the Russian persuasion when they came to California.

June 29, 1819, six Kodiak islanders of the Russian establishments, aged between thirteen and forty years, were baptized by Father de Sarría. The father of one of them, who had become a Catholic at Santa Barbara, served as interpreter. The padre remarks that he had formerly considered Russian baptisms valid and had asked Russian Christians when becoming Catholics merely to renounce their schism. But now having the advantage of an interpreter, he learned that the Russian "padre only recited the form without administering the matter . . . (the subjects) immersing themselves in the water"; or if they were infants the godparents would immerse them. This is not the ordinary way of the Russians, but they do it thus with the Indians because of their numbers. These people were not aggregated to the mission but remained as *indios ladinos* among the whites.

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Indians from the Tulares . . .

Soldiers from the Monterey Presidio may have participated in one or other expedition into the Tulares before the year 1812 but, if so, the parochial registers bear no evidence of it. Indians brought to Monterey on subsequent forays were very few and none of them became Carmel Mission Indians. The Tulares, of course, is the old name for the San Joaquin Valley.

"September 11, 1814, in San Carlos Mission Church I baptized conditionally a lad about eleven or twelve years old. He was wounded in a skirmish which occurred in the Tulares beyond San Juan Bautista Mission. This was in 1812 when Sergeant Vallejo commanded an expedition (thither). The lad was taken dangerously wounded and baptized but he survived and Don Raimondo Estrada adopted him . . . He says he is a brother of the Santa Cruz neophyte known to him by the name Oy-suzs . . . (signed) Fr. Vic'te Fran'co de Sarría."

April 15, 1815, there was baptized at the moment of death in the guardhouse at the presidio a sixty or seventy year old Indian

taken from the Tulares beyond San Juan Mission in one of the then recent military expeditions to recover fugitive neophytes. He died. January 8, 1816, there was baptized in the same circumstances and place a fifty or sixty year old *Tulareño* taken in the last expedition under Sergeant Pico. He was of the *Rancheria Nonchech*. His choice for *padrino* was Corporal José Manuel Rodríguez who had been very kind to the old man. He died January 25.

June 7, 1819, Father de Sarría baptized at Carmel the year old son of a *Tulareña* mother brought to the presidio in the latest expedition. They were temporarily quartered at the mission. The mother is Tinevzza of Nopchinchés; the father, Carlos of Santa Cruz Mission and a native of the *Tulareña rancheria*, Notoals. He also conferred the sacrament on two other children of pagan mothers from the same *rancheria* and Christian fathers of Santa Cruz but natives of Notoals. Other baptisms that resulted from this foray were those of a six year old boy and a nine year old girl, baptized in danger of death. Don Joaquín de la Torre had adopted them but had not bothered having them christened till they were very ill. The said Don Joaquín told the padre that they were orphans, but Father Abella remarks "they say (they are) orphans but this is often falsely asserted." This expedition was made by Corporal Manuel Butron in May, 1819.

In October of the same year, in unison with parties from other presidios, there was an expedition from Monterey under Lieutenant José María Estudillo. José Dolores Pico who knew the country acted as guide. They returned to Monterey before November 19.

There is no good reason to suppose that the military was adverse to carrying back any stray Indian child that fell into its hands. This was not to force Christianity upon it but to rear it as a house servant. The old men mentioned above were likely chiefs who had offered resistance to the expedition. Father Martin in his letter on the April and November, 1804, *entradas* records the capture and dispatch of such a *capitan* to Monterey. The pagan wives of fugitive Christians no doubt came willingly.

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Other Presidial Indians . . .

Besides the Russian and Tulare Indians who dwelt at Monterey there were others who seem to have come from Mexico as servants

traveling with white persons, also several Lower Californians and *Carmeleños* who had been mission neophytes, but who had been released and now dwelt at or near the presidio.

Strange to say Indian servants were often not Christians, nor do we have any record that they were urged to become Christians unless they were in danger of death. Surgeon Manuel Quijano had two or more pagan Lower Californians in his employ, and there lived with Guadalupe Avila a pagan from near San Diego who had been in the household since he was a child. Of course, all were christened when in danger of death.

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Monterey Ranchos . . .

The Rancho del Rey, also called Rancho del Real Hacienda, became a recognized habitation site during these years. Corporal Francisco Soto and his family lived there and were in charge of the place in 1814 and 1815, and no doubt for some time before and after. Their eight year old son, Zeferino, was killed by a bear August 15, 1814, as he played near his home.

Sergeant José Dolores Pico, Damasa Soto, a retired soldier, and Salvador Espinosa with their families were residents there in 1819. Without doubt there also dwelt at this ranch *vaqueros* and others necessary for its maintenance.

In this same year Sergeant Pico bridged the nearby Pajaro River with hand hewn timber; that is, neophytes hired for worthless drafts on the royal treasury did the work under his supervision.

Rancho Buenavista seems still to belong to the presidio. The Castros after being a while at Carmel Mission were granted a *rancho* near San José. Molina is said in 1817 to have been formerly a *ranchero* of Buenavista. This man is not further identified. He may have been the person of this name who was captured by Bouchard in 1818. Don José Mariano Estrada resided at the ranch in July, 1819, when he was promoted to the rank of lieutenant. Juan Arroyo lived at the *ranchito*, El Saucito, in August, 1818.

All these places were in the spiritual jurisdiction of the Carmel fathers but the only records of contacts are those in the parochial registers.

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The Bouchard Raid . . .

In 1816 word reached California that her ports might be sacked by

freebooters sailing under the rebel flag of Buenos Aires. This province had revolted July 9, 1816. Governor de Solá drew up a set of regulations which were to go into effect as soon as any hostile sail should appear. These ordered each mission to furnish fifteen or twenty Indian *vaqueros* equipped with *riatas* for military service, fixed places of deposit for valuables and refuge for the people, directed the disposition of supplies, cattle, etc.

No marauders appeared this year nor next, but just as everyone was sure all danger had passed, there arrived at Monterey a *correo violento* from Santa Barbara. The American brig, *Clarion*, had just arrived from the Hawaiian Islands to warn California that two Buenos Aires' vessels were making ready there for an expedition against the West Coast. The *Clarion* arrived October 6, 1818, and by the eighth de Solá would have had the news. Lookouts were posted and the orders of 1816 republished.

On the evening of November 20 the Point Pinos sentinel reported the approach of two vessels. Shortly afterwards the smaller, called *Santa Rosa*, alias *Libertad*, but by the Californians, *La Frigata Chica*, anchored in the port. She would not reply to trumpeted questions, so the hill fort and shore battery were manned. The *Chica* opened fire on the fort at daybreak and was answered by both land batteries. The mutual shelling lasted two hours with no damage to the shore installations or personnel. The damage to the enemy and the details of what followed are not certain. The Californians tell conflicting stories, their captives had slightly different versions, and Peter Corney, who commanded the *Chica*, has given a very short account but one which does not entirely agree with any of the others.

This much is certain. Hypolite Bouchard, the Frenchman, who commanded the larger vessel, *Argentina*, alias *La Gentila*, and known to the Californians as *La Frigata Negra*, was commodore of the fleet. He ordered the men of both barks to land at Point Pinos from small boats. They went thence about three miles and were upon the fort and shore battery before the Spaniards could turn their guns. The soldiers mounted their horses and fled to the presidio. Bouchard trained the guns on the presidio and sent a force to assault it. The Spaniards again fled, abandoning the presidio which, of course, was pillaged. The only Monterey casualty was one

Molina who was captured, too drunk to flee. The raiders lost three to five killed and three captured, when or where is not certain. Bouchard sent a flag of truce to a party of horsemen he had seen hovering about, and offered to spare the town if de Solá would return the prisoners. He got no answer and partly destroyed the presidio, its orchard, and garden. The damage amounted to about five thousand dollars, not counting personal property of its occupants. Corney says they left December 1.

One may be certain that the tactics of Governor de Solá were heartily agreed to by his subjects. They were based on the principle that Monterey could not be defended, that there was no point in wasting life to discourage future raiders, and that property losses were not worth dangerous defense. In fact, the defenders numbered forty plus the Indian *vaqueros*, and their large guns, fourteen, not all of them in order. The smaller vessel certainly mounted eighteen guns, the larger is said to have had forty. The combined force of the two barks was three hundred and sixty men, adventurers of many nations.

The non-military inhabitants of Monterey took refuge at Soledad. It may be presumed that they started on their way when the firing commenced. The troops retired to Rancho del Rey whither Father de Sarriá accompanied them as chaplain. Some Monterey civilians may have gone only as far as the *rancho*.

Father Amorós and his neophytes took refuge (far up the Carmel River) on a hill at a place called San Clemente. They arranged there a temporary altar. One marriage and one baptism took place during their exile. Carmel is usually said to have suffered no damage as a direct cause of the Bouchard affair. A tradition says that from a distance one of the enemy party was seen to enter the mission on horseback with two pack animals and to depart with a load. Where he got such animals is not evident. All tame beasts were driven inland. The reports in 1819 list a shortage of implements but do not give the cause. The 1818 *Informe* says a little was lost by reason of the insurgent barks. The mission, of course, had to furnish both laborers and materials for the rebuilding of Monterey. Carmel bore its share. All was better than it had been before by April, 1819.

This Bouchard affair and the earthquake of 1812 were the most outstanding local events in the minds of Spanish Californians. The

quake would really have done great damage had there been anything of value in its wake. The Bouchard episode, as most else in early California, is hardly worth recording.

Change of Priests . . .

December 14, 1817, Father de Sarría had dedicated the assistancy of San Rafael. It was technically a chapel of ease to San Francisco, but in fact a mission. Father Juan Amorós was transferred there from Carmel some time between June 9 and 30, 1819, and Fray Ramón Abella replaced him. Father de Sarría remained on and no doubt became Carmel's father minister in fact as well as in name, January 13, 1820, the day his appointment as prefect seems to have terminated. Under Fathers de Sarría and Abella the neophytes became so few that it was impossible to keep Carmel in repair, or even to care properly for fields and stock. By 1819 there were only three hundred and ninety-seven Indians at the mission. This number fell to three hundred and seventeen in 1823 and to one hundred and fifty-two a decade later. At the same time there were at Monterey one hundred and ten *ladino* Indians from various parts of the western world. The *gente de razón* were four hundred and thirty-five in 1809 and seven hundred and seventy-eight in 1833. Nearly all resided at Monterey

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Conclusion . . .

With sincere regret we leave these Spanish-speaking Americans, native born and foreign, who founded Monterey and populated it during the first fifty years. The *dramatis personae* were the Franciscan missionaries, the Spanish soldiers, the white population, and the newly converted natives. We may think what we will of the faith that was theirs, we may put the greatest possible stress on the failings of each group, we may magnify anywhere within reason the sins we have spoken of, and yet in no place do we find more zealous missionaries, better behaved natives, less crime or more charity, unless, of course, we seek in places where the pioneers were likewise people of a nation faithful to the Vicar of Christ. For wealth, on the other hand, and material progress we shall have to go elsewhere and among those who sought such things with great diligence. The men of Old California prized them not.

Appendix . . .

1. THE CARMELITE FRIARS
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THE CARMELITE FRIARS

These priests are known by their religious names only. The first Carmelites reached Mexico October 17, 1585. January 18, 1586, the viceroy gave them the Franciscan convent of San Sebastián. Fathers Andres and Antonio came in a later group, likely in that of 1597. These religious were to have had the New Mexican missions, but the Franciscans got them because the field opened up before 1585. The viceroy assigned California to the Carmelites because it was the next prospective spiritual conquest. Father Andres was prior-elect of the convent of Salaya, Guanajuato. Fray Antonio, a Salamancan, had specialized in cosmography and mathematics at the university of his native town and had been at the lectures in the Seville School for Pilots. He was forty-three when he went with Vizcaíno. He kept a diary and with Bolaños drew maps and wrote a coast pilot. Cabrera Bueno used this work for his book. After the voyage, Father Antonio was deemed an authority on the Lower California coasts.

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THE VIZCAINO-SERRA OAK

Mass was said in the shade of the famous Monterey oak on three occasions: December 17, 1602 to January 3, 1603 (by the Carmelites); June 3 to 13, 1770 (by the Franciscans); and June 10, 1774 (by Father Serra).

In recent years an ancient oak stood near the ravine to the southeast of the modern presidio gate. Montereyans used to point it out as the Vizcaíno tree, or at least the one recognized as such by Father Serra's party. The spot is now marked by a Celtic cross.

Monsignor Mestres (pastor at Monterey, 1893-1931) used to tell this story about the tree's disappearance. "In 1904 a culvert under the road became clogged, causing the water to flood the spot for that winter, thus killing the oak. In 1905 it was blown down and washed into the bay whence it was rescued by Portuguese fishermen. With financial aid from Mr. Henry Green of Monterey the trunk was set up in 1909 behind the local parish church," where it may still be seen. Many of its branches were cut into half inch cubes and given to tourists. They had plenteous termite holes. Other

branches were used to make two chairs which are preserved in the Monterey parlor N.S.G.W.

Bancroft remarks that the oak by the presidio gate was too far from the water line to be the one described by Vizcaíno and Father Serra. He goes on to quote David Spence as saying that a tree by the water's edge fell in 1837 or 1838 because the waters had washed the earth from its roots. This tree, according to Spence, was considered in his day the Vizcaíno-Serra oak. 182

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THE FIRST CHRISTIAN SERVICES IN CALIFORNIA

The first Mass, within the confines of what is now California, was said by Father Andres at San Diego November 12, 1602. Father Engelhardt insists that this honor goes to the Franciscan, Fray Francisco de la Concepción, chaplain of Cermeño's *San Agustín*. He argues that since he was a priest and therefore bound to say Mass every Sunday, that he must have said it at Drake's Bay. Aside from the incorrect statement that a priest is bound to say Mass on any day other than that of his ordination, we can willingly admit that the good padre would certainly have said Mass at least on the four Sundays preceding the wreck if he were able to do so. It is not recorded, however, and it may well have been that he was ill. The facts that he was aboard ship and not in the land camp and that he lost his life in the wreck hint that he was unwell. A similar argument could be urged in favor of the padres with Unamuno who preceded Cermeño, and for the unknown priest who seems to have been with Cabrillo, but, until records speak, the Carmelite retains this honor.

This was not the first religious exercise performed within the confines of our state. Drake and his men performed some manner of service on the shore of one of the small bays above San Francisco. Although there is no documentary evidence to support it, there is no reason to doubt the line in the *Famous Voyage* which reads: "Our general with his company went to prayer and to reading of the scriptures at which exercise" the natives were attentive, etc.

The elaboration of this statement found in the *World Encompassed* is to be taken with a few grains of salt. It is probable that in its essentials it is true. These essentials are that on two occasions,

namely, June 23 and July 23, 1579, prayers, psalms, and certain chapters of the Bible were used. The psalms were sung and hands and eyes were lifted up to heaven.

A modern version of this ancient religious act as given by the Reverend D. O. Kelley is not historical. He has it that the Reverend Francis Fletcher, priest of the Church of England and chaplain of Sir Francis Drake, conducted a *Prayer Book* communion service at Drake's Bay on or about June 24, 1579; also, that he preached "with much fervency" to the natives and chronicled the event.

Francis Fletcher is referred to as master, a minister, and a preacher—never a priest—in the early accounts of the voyage. A priest is one who by valid orders is entitled to offer sacrifice. Elizabethan theology denies that any religious service is a sacrifice and very few of the queen's ministers had valid orders.

It is not said that Master Fletcher performed the service, nor may we take it for granted that he did. It is more likely that Drake conducted it himself. The *World Encompassed* says, "The general and his company fell to prayers." Silva testified that the pirate was in the habit of reading psalms and preaching. The services on the *Golden Hind* in Mexican waters featured Drake and not Fletcher. It is not certain that Fletcher was chosen by Drake to accompany the expedition, that he was the latter's chaplain, or that he had gone in anything more than the role of an interpreter. Drake was not a minister though insofar as he was representing the queen he was Fletcher's religious superior. He had little use for the chaplain and in fact during January, 1579 (1580), he excommunicated that gentleman and made him wear the sign: *Frances fletcher ye falsest knave that liveth*.

It does not say that this was a *Prayer Book* service and much less that it was a communion service. One communion service recorded in the voyage, January 9, 1579 (1580), is so specified and Master Fletcher conducted it.

The author has not found reference elsewhere to Fletcher's fervent sermon, and Wagner gives an appraisal of the minister's chronicling in *Sir Francis Drake*, pp. 286 ss.

The most then that we can say is: The first Christian service on California soil was a Protestant exercise, likely of private character. It took place at or near Drake's Bay June 23, 1579. 183

THE DATE OF MONTEREY'S FIRST MASS

Father Engelhardt says that neither Torquemada nor the *Diary* specifies the date of Monterey's first Mass, though both give the date of Alarcón's handiwork. The father's conclusion that the Mass was next day (the eighteenth) seems unwarranted. The *Diary* says that Alarcón built the hut, and adds "at once" the others landed. Fray Juan Crespi understood that it was the seventeenth. Father Engelhardt's argument that the improvised chapel could not be thrown together in time for Mass that morning is not convincing. Alarcón likely landed at daybreak with a good force. These *ramadas* were "an old Spanish custom." Vancouver is witness to the ease with which the soldiers could erect them. "The garden had no fixed accommodations. This afforded Sr. Paries an opportunity of exercising his genius in the construction of a temporary bower." It seems unlikely that Father Antonio said Mass after his superior that day. Two priest and two ensigns are intentionally excluded (by the use of the singular) from among those who landed. He may have said Mass aboard and earlier for the convenience of the sick. Father Antonio, however, does say that the arbor was set up for the convenience of both padres, and he notes that both priests said the Mass of the Holy Ghost on the seventeenth but he does not specify where or when he said it.

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FATHER SERRA'S MIRACLE

Chapman insists that Father Palou made up the story about Portolá having determined to abandon San Diego on March nineteenth, and suggests that he did so to extol Father Serra at the expense of Portolá. He gives as his reason the absence of reference to the story in the 1770 documents. On the one hand, no word or action of Father Palou can be produced to show that he was ever dishonest. Moreover, he states his authority, namely, letters from Father Serra which had been lost.

While it is possible that Father Palou depending on memory may have unwittingly exaggerated, we must admit the following. It was most important to the Father President that the provisions

should arrive. He proposed the novena and he made a vow. Whether this was because he was impatient or because he truly feared that the project would be abandoned we may never know. Father Palou who knew him says it was the latter. The prayer was answered; Fray Junipero kept the vow. So while depriving our hero of sole credit for saving California we, with him, give thanks to Señor San José who heard the petition. 185

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THE MIRACLE OF THE MONTEREY CROSS

Father Palou says that when the Indians knew enough Spanish they testified that the offerings were made to the cross by day to enlist its favor, because at night they saw it shining in the dark and appearing to grow till it touched the sky. The natives connected the cross with the Spaniards, for similar but small symbols had been noted on the breasts of the soldiers.

Bancroft states that the Indians said this just to please the padres. Why they said it we shall never know but Indian psychology demands one of three explanations: the first and most likely being that it was true; the second and probable that it was a tale started by the neophytes to justify before the pagans their adherence to the foreigners; the third and also probable is that the story resulted from suggestive questioning on the part of the padres with the Indians answering in a manner that would please the questioners. Present day Indians in the Sierra Nevada will recount among themselves, or to a priest, certain miracles noted by them, and they insist that these are the reasons they became Christians and why bad Indians gave up their evil ways. A comparison between the story of the cross and other Costanoan tales shows that it was not the type of legend the natives could or would make up unless Spanish instruction gave them a lift. 186

7

CARMEL MISSION'S FIRST CONVERTS

On the authority of Alvarado and Vallejo, Bancroft says that the first converts at Monterey were Excelens. Alvarado says he bases his statement on the MS. (not produced) of a soldier named J. B. Valdes. In the first place, there was no soldier by that name at

Monterey when the first converts were made. Fages, who was there, says that both the Excelens and the Zanjones were inimical to the Christians at first. The *San Carlos Baptismal Record* is not lost as stated by Bancroft, and it clearly shows that three hundred and forty-nine Rumsens of Carmel Valley were Christian before the first Excelen entered the Church. Pach-hepas, first recorded chief of Excelen, lived at the Rancheria Xasauan in the Santa Lucia Mountains some ten leagues to the east of the mission. Alvarado's notion of practical affinity between the languages of Excelen and those of Lower California is utter foolishness.

Father Palou says that the miracle of the cross, and other prodigies not specified, influenced the natives in favor of Christianity. The votive offerings, however, were at the Monterey cross which was very likely not in Carmel territory. It would also seem that the miracle was at this cross and not at the one in Carmel. The Locuyustans who seem to have venerated the cross did not begin to interest themselves in Christianity till 1781.

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CALIFORNIA'S FIRST WHITE CHILD

Luz de Heredia was not the first white child born in the department of Monterey, for on or before November 11, 1774, Juan José García first saw the light of day at San Luis Obispo. Juan José, by the way, is another contender for the honor of first white child born within the confines of modern California. This subject is most recently treated in *The California Historical Society Quarterly* where the claims of José Francisco María de Ortega are upheld, but his birth was in February, 1775. Entry 86 in the *San Luis Obispo Baptismal Register* reads: "Juan José, Infant *de razón*: November 11, 1774, in the church of the glorious Saint Louis Bishop I supplied the ceremonies which the *Ritual* prescribes to a child baptized in case of necessity and named Juan José, legitimate son of Felipe Garzía, soldier of this department, and Petra de Lugo, his wife, etc. (signed) Fr. Pablo de Mugártegui."

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9

THE VICTORIOUS FERNANDINO MISSION SYSTEM

There is no evidence of bad intentions on the part of Governor Neve

so far as his regulation is concerned. It resulted from his desire to expand the missions to the east despite the relatively limited income from the *Pious Fund*. Implicitly he was forcing the Fernandinos to raise funds themselves if they wished to maintain their traditional system, or if they did not raise the funds to change the system.

Just what difference it would have made in the long run had either of the latter plans been followed we naturally do not know; however, we would judge that the fathers would have shown better judgment at the moment had they determined to seek revenue also elsewhere and thus expand their California fields.

Another proposed change in the system was originated by Antonio Reyes, the bishop of Sonora and the Californias. Despite his Franciscan, missionary, and college background he was determined to divorce the missions from the colleges and divide his territory into *custodias*. This would mean that the various California Franciscan foundations, which were mere annexes of the monastery of San Fernando, would themselves become canonical houses with the padres bound for life to residence in the territory. It would also mean that the Christian Indians, as well as the soldeirs and settlers, would come under the jurisdiction of the bishop—at least this would be the case under common law. The bishop had letters patent from both Pope and king authorizing the change. These letters may have modified the common law. Despite the patents the bishop could not induce and really had no authority to force the Fernandinos to agree to the change. It was tried in Sonora and failed. That failure was due to the system, and not to the lukewarmness of the friars, is by no means evident. Again one cannot judge which system would have produced the better ultimate results. As it was, when a bishop did come to California he found a mess that was beyond at least his meagre ingenuity. Would things have been any better had he taken over from a bishop rather than from the two colleges which then controlled the spirituality of the province? 189

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THE MONTEREY INDIANS AND THEIR WAYS

Carmel Mission included all territory within about a twenty-five mile radius of the church. This boundary did not change essentially till the American Era. The establishment of San Antonio in '71 and

of Soledad in '91 did not affect it. When San Juan Bautista was opened in '97 the hill country around Natividad passed to that mission. 190

Linguistic Differences

Rumsen Indians occupied Carmel Valley, the coast from the lower Big Sur to the Pajaro Rivers, and the Salinas Valley inland to about the site of Gonzales. To the east dwelt Mutsuns in what is now San Benito and eastern Monterey Counties. Cholon inhabited the Soledad district.

The Excelens were in the upper watershed of the Carmel, the whole drainage system of the Arroyo Seco, the upper reaches of the Big Sur, and on the coast beyond Pfeiffer Point. After 1791 all Excelen Indians, except those in the Carmel drainage system, were cared for by Soledad Mission. To the south of these dwelt the Salnian Indians of San Antonio Mission.

Each group of natives here mentioned had its own speech, and within each group there were dialects. The Franciscans considered Rumsen, Mutsun, and Cholon different languages, but modern ethnologists list them as dialects of a tongue which they call Costanoan. It is said that all Indians from San Francisco Bay to the Santa Lucia Mountains could more or less understand one another. Excelen and Salinan are absolutely different from Costanoan and bear to each other only slight resemblance.

The padres found the Carmel languages hard but not impossible to learn. Rumsen was the more difficult for Europeans, but it had a meagre vocabulary. Excelen had an extensive vocabulary, probably more extensive than any other North American tongue, though it was not as rich as European speech. It would seem, however, that its words were derived from relatively few roots. The padres were able to translate the catechism and prayers into both languages. 191

Common Blood

These linguistic differences do not indicate different blood in the veins of the various groups. In pre-Spanish times inter-nation feuds were common. Their chief known causes were food or women. They fought to defend or acquire food-producing land or water, and to get or recover wives. Apart from this, men of one nation or even

linguistic group acquired wives by peaceful methods from another, and some men would change nations, either taking with them their wives or marrying in their new home. National hostility did not create personal enmity. In Spanish times inter-nation marriages were numerous. Language was no bar, for like all untutored folk the ordinary Indian was adept at picking up the speech of his neighbor. Early writers, Navarrete excepted, clearly indicate that they noted no difference other than language between these groups.

The possibility of non-Indian blood in pre-Spanish times cannot be excluded, but neither the bodies, minds, customs, nor artifacts of native Monterey give any sign of foreign influence.

Different Nations

Each linguistic group was divided into units smaller than the group, but comprising more than one *rancheria* or village. For want of a better word the Spaniards called these units nations. There were seven or more such independent tribes within the Carmel Mission boundaries as these existed subsequent to 1797. In pre-Spanish times they had been separated by mutual hostility and each was held together in a threefold manner: territorially, for its lands were circumscribed by more or less definite bounds; linguistically, in that generally a common dialect was spoken; and politically, since one chief held some sort of authority in the nation.

In the Excelen group there were at least two nations: Ecgeajan, in the upper reaches of the Arroyo Seco and Big Sur, also along the coast between Pfeiffer Point and Lucia; and Eslenajan in Tularcitos and the watershed of the upper Carmel. Chucunu in the lower watershed of the Arroyo Seco may have been a third nation; if not, it was part of Eslenajan.

The Rumsens were divided into six nations. The Achastans occupied the Carmel Valley and its canyons. The Locuyastans, or people of Kalenda Ruc, dwelt in the marshes near the mouth of the Salinas River and hunted as far west as the Monterey side of Point Pinos. The Ensens lived some twenty miles up the river in the land about Chualar and hunted on the sites of the districts called Zanjones and Buenavista. The dwellers along the lower Pajaro are listed as Locuyastans in the earlier records, but in the *1814 Respueta* they are called Guaccherones. Their lands were between the

Salinas and Pajaro Rivers and extended three or four miles inland.

The Sur district of the coast was known to the padres by the Achastan name Sargenta Ruc. There were two nations in the locality: Pichis, in the watersheds of Rocky and Bixby Creeks and of the Little Sur River; and Jojopan, in the drainage system of the lower Big Sur. The language of the Pichis was most likely Rumsen. Sargenta Ruc may have been bilingual (Rumsen and Excelen). A similar phenomenon is observable in the Cholon nation of Soledad. In 1806 the name Sargenta Ruc was restricted to a village called also El Sur, and its *capitan* ruled Ecgeajan as well. The Mutsuns were cut entirely away from Carmel in 1797 by the foundation of San Juan. The Cholons had never been approached from San Carlos.

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Description of a Nation

Each Indian nation at Monterey (and the same is no doubt true for the rest of California) occupied a distinct territory. Natural barriers to some extent described its boundaries, and ordinarily there were stretches of neutral ground between the tribes. Hunting, however, or food gathering in such places would cause trouble if members of the two nations happened there at the same time.

In each nation there existed distinct groups of families or semi-villages. These were called by the Spaniards *rancherias*. To what degree a *rancheria* was a fixed place of residence is uncertain. It is said that the dwellings in such a village would be fired by the inhabitants when the fleas became unbearable, filth insupportable, or when there appeared on the scene an enemy group which seemed unbeatable. The people would go elsewhere and build a new establishment.

Even while the *rancheria* retained its houses, the inhabitants would depart for a time to another location in the tribal lands. In season of fish it might be to the seaside; in that of acorns, to a grove of oak trees. Weather changes or fear of enemy attack might also cause the populace to abandon the *rancheria* temporarily. These seasonal dwelling spots were mere camp grounds and boasted nothing in the way of a house, though brush wind shelters were sometimes set up.

We may consider the Indians restricted permanently rather to

tribal lands than to precise dwelling sites. It would seem, however, that within the tribal lands the *rancherias* were always rebuilt in the same general locality, and that this locality was determined by its greater immunity from enemy attack and its accessibility to water in sufficient quantity for sweat bath purposes. Relatively level, treeless, stoneless, and weather-protected tracks were preferred. Every such spot large enough for ten or more huts was at one time or another a *rancheria* site. In the Sierra they preferred the south foot of a mountain because it was more sunny.

No village was considered the capital; hence, the chief might be found residing in any one of them. Some Indians evidently preferred much company and so lived in a large *rancheria*. Others would rather have just a few friends about and so lived apart with them.

Indian Physiognomy

The Montereyans irrespective of nation presented a common appearance. They were considered to betray several Indian characteristics, but at the same time to resemble Europeans somewhat more than did other Americans.

They were under medium stature, chunky in build, with well pronounced muscles, and a body symmetrically formed. The neck was noticeably short and thick, giving the head the appearance of a newly sewed on button. They walked pigeon-toed, and their carriage (except during the hunt, games, dances, and war) was that of men without spirit.

The skin would have been fairly white had it not been constantly exposed to the elements. The sun turned it a color peculiar to central Californians, something between a dull black and a gray. In the younger folk, surface veins tinged the cheeks a not unpleasant red. The face inclined to roundness; the forehead was low and broad; the hair, black, coarse, straight, and abundant; the eyebrows, black and bushy; the eyes, gray-black, sunken, and of European shape and setting. The nose was short and flat at its root; the cheek bones were prominent. The mouth was somewhat large and the lips a bit thick. The teeth were large but regular and of good appearance. The ears and chin were like those of Europeans. In advanced age the hair usually grayed. In general, the features while far from handsome were considered less ugly than those of

southern Californians or Oregonians. Their body odor was not offensive to the whites.

A peculiar phenomenon was the face and body hair. Taking into consideration more or less conflicting stories of observers, this is what we find: Some natives of pre-Spanish Monterey produced abundant hair in the usual places. Others enjoyed an Oriental scarceness and still others possessed hair only on the head, arms, and legs. It is certain that the natives knew how to pluck unwanted hair with bivalve shells or split twigs. The most sensible theory seems to be this: The Indian considered lack of hair on face and body the ideal, but he was lazy and adverse to pain. Nature endowed some with little excess growth and most of these used the tweezers. Many others, who were well supplied, preferred to suffer the indignity. A person had to be very lazy before he left hair in the armpits or on the pubis. It was noted that fully half the men had beards of some sort, from sparse two or three inch growths to crops which would have befitted a Bolshevik. We shall no doubt never know whence came the blood that brought the extra hair.

The Indian's Mind

Some old observers have maintained that the mental qualities of Montereyans were the poorest noted anywhere. A great many qualifications are referable to the mind and in some of these our natives were far from inferior. The padres considered them children and for the most part treated them as such. Without doubt this is the best general description of their mental calibre.

They were very slow to grasp new suggestions, and abstract notions were almost beyond their ken. The padres evidently doubted that a Monterey Indian could understand the difference between ordinary bread and the Sacred Species. In the first generation it was a rare exception when an adult convert was given Holy Communion even in preparation for death.

Their memory was sluggish. Daily, month after month, the padres would have to recite with them the three or four hundred words of the Indian catechism before they could give it from memory. It is unlikely that very many of them ever understood and remembered much more about the Catholic religion than was essential for the reception of the sacraments.

As a rule their wills were weak, but the Monterey records betray a few notable exceptions. They lacked courage, were not liberty loving, could be interested in nothing but what appealed to the senses, and even here were incapable of foresight in the sense that they could not comprehend that by laboring or suffering today, they might the more easily enjoy themselves on the morrow. They were incurably lazy, lacking in curiosity, and their features betrayed no interest in what went on about them. They were equally extreme in their expressions of joy and of sorrow. A small thing would cause either.

But there is another side to the picture. They were not barbarians. The land in which they lived created their mental state. Their numbers were few and food relatively plentiful. As a result they were not trammelled by many conventions, tribal laws, or needs. They seem to have been a bit quarrelsome among themselves, yet a fist fight ended when the first blood was drawn and peace followed at once. They did not quarrel with those whom they disliked but rather kept out of their way. Fights, therefore, were things that occurred on the spur of the moment. They were warlike but a battle ended in flight when one or two fell. Murder was a very rare crime. When an Indian was killed by a group of his fellows, the Spaniards presumed he deserved it.

The padres found the Montereyans docile, affable, generous, and capable of no little affection toward those who were good to them. Father Crespi notes that the women showed less fear and more generosity than the men. It is evident, too, that they were more industrious. Little hints in the records show that these Indian maidens were quite capable of drawing great affection even from Spanish husbands. In mission days only a few such marriages took place but the men stayed with their Indian wives to the end. Girls who grew up together remained much attached to each other. A great love existed between a mother and her children, but it was sometimes noted that children were indifferent to their father and vice versa. An Indian had great affection for his friends, sometimes even more than for his own family. The love of a husband for his wife and vice versa seems to have followed the same rule as obtains in all pagan or paganized lands. Some were faithful and loving until death, others fickle. While the love of married folk continued,

the husband treated his wife with regard and deference.

That the Indians were capable of excellence in the combined use of mind and body is certain, but, of course, their attainment of excellence depended entirely on their will to reach it, and the will in turn was moved only by necessity. The women showed great facility in collecting and preparing seeds; also in weaving baskets. The men made excellent bows and arrows. They were patient and expert hunters. The bear and mountain lion, which later tested the wits of the white man, were bagged by the Indian. Such quarry, however, was reserved for the bravest, as attested by the custom of extracting a tooth from the fallen beast and wearing it as a sign of merit. In Spanish times they showed aptness for agriculture and the mechanical arts.

Indian Morality

In morals the Indian was probably above the average run of moderns. His notions of sex were akin to those of modern materialists. His respect for the property of fellow tribesmen was perfect. As for the belongings of another nation he had about the same regard as one modern nation has for the possessions of its neighbors. It is said that in pre-Spanish times the Indian did not lie. In historic times, however, he had few equals as a prevaricator but he lacked malice. The change no doubt came from the fact that with civilization came duties and sanctions. The native, failing in the former, merely tried to get out of the latter as easily as he could.

A contract was most sacred. Any Indian that broke his word would find no one to deal with him thereafter. His respect for life among his own was greater than is ours, and for that of a foreigner about the same, except that he took the scalp and with it part of the head of each enemy, living or dead, who fell into his hands. There is no indication that he was unkind to the stranger who wandered into his *rancheria*. Honor for parents was greater among the Indians than among us, and his respect and care of the aged almost Christian. His relations with the divinity were few and performed according to his lights. It is probable that the lot of widows and orphans was not a happy one, for they were easily attracted to the mission.

The White Plague

There are a couple of considerations which may throw some light on the mental dullness at Monterey and on the quick disappearance of a race apparently well built. Since the nations were quite independent, no one of them over six hundred in strength and all added together scarcely more than two thousand souls, it may not be amiss to suppose consanguine unions and these over many centuries. The sacramental registers record no relationships beyond first cousins, so it is likely that the natives knew of none further removed.

Neither confinement at the mission, since there was no confinement, nor work, for reasonable work kills no man and Indian hours were good, nor punishment, for it was meted out only to incorrigibles, nor food, for it was better than they had ever had, can explain the disappearance of the Monterey Indian. Plagues there were, but these could cause only a temporary setback. Accidents were common enough, about five per thousand per year in the early days. The causes listed are: snake bites, bears, unintentional homicide, drowning, suffocation in the sweat bath, food poisoning, and war. Occasional cold winters took a few old people in the Santa Lucia, and one or other might be burned to death when a *rancheria* caught fire.

The infant and child death rate was appalling; for example, of the first eighty youngsters baptized, forty died before reaching the age of fifteen; of the sixty-seven children baptized in 1783, twenty-five were dead before 1790. The death rate in the fifteen to thirty-five age group was but little better. There are examples of persons widowed four or five times before their thirtieth year.

La Pérouse says that hernia caused many infant deaths. Still-born children were rare as was death in childbirth, but a few pregnant women died. Syphilis seems not to have afflicted the Monterey natives either before or after Spanish occupation. Skin diseases, but apparently not mortal ones, afflicted all the women and children but not the men except for a short period when the padres tried to get along without the Indian baths.

Rollin, the physician of the La Pérouse Expedition, found that the Montereyans were subject to lung trouble and inflammations of the mucous membranes of the head. He noted especially that nearly every individual had the conjunctiva badly inflamed. Despite this,

blindness was very rare; only two cases are noted among two thousand baptized.

Unfortunately the records seldom give the cause of death or even the symptoms, but from the instances where these are given, one is inclined to consider tuberculosis, which anteceded the Spanish conquest, the cause of the failure of the natives to increase in numbers between Vizcaíno's time and that of Father Serra, and the basic cause of their ultimate disappearance. The symptoms noted are oral and rectal hemorrhages recurring over some period of time—patients being prepared for death one day but up and around soon after, only to fall sick again and eventually to die of the ailment. Rollin confirms this when he says that absence of rational treatment for what he calls pleurisy and lung inflammation caused these ailments to become chronic, and that the patient quickly weakened and “ended his days in tuberculosis of the one kind or the other.”

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Indian Culture

Ethnologists put all Monterey Indians in the central California culture area; that is to say, the Monterey groups were molded by ideas coming from the San Joaquin Valley. But despite this, there were no doubt other influences exercised independently on both valley and coast. Some new notions must have come from the Indians to the north and south, and there is no ground to deny a limited amount of local initiative. An Indian grapevine certainly worked back and forth on the coast between San Diego and the Santa Lucia Mountains; also, east and west between the same coast and the inland tribes. The Portolá party was welcomed, as though expected, all along the route till it entered the Salinas Valley. The grapevine probably ended there, for he was not expected by the Ensens. Certain trinkets noted on various expeditions were said to have come from the east or the north.

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Monterey Huts

Irrespective of the origin of the various ideas, we find the following peculiarities at Monterey: The *rancheria* boasted but two types of structure: the *ruc* and the sweat house. The *ruc* was a hemispherical, one family dwelling. The workmanship at Monterey was poor. Some boughs, the thickness of the arm, were fixed in the ground,

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butt end down, in a circle about six feet in diameter, and pulled together at the top to form a vault. The interior apex of the half globe was about four feet from the ground. Eight or ten bundles of straw thatched onto these studs protected the inmates, for better or for worse, from rain and wind. More than half the hut was without straw in good weather, but the owner kept a few bundles handy against sudden climatic changes. A bundle of straw served for a door when the house was empty. The floor was the earth. The construction of these took about two hours.

The arrangement of the *rucs* in a *rancheria* showed no trace of order. The *rancheria* itself was filthy, for all table and other refuse was thrown in front of the dwelling and remained there. The padres were long in interesting the majority of the natives in other types of dwellings. The Indians said they liked their own because they were airy and easily destroyed and rebuilt when the vermin became unbearable. Hence, the mission *rancheria* was like the primitive ones except that the *rucs* were larger and better thatched. Despite the bones and shells, which to this day mark its location, we may believe Father Lasuén when he says that it was cleaner than the villages in the wilds.

The whole family slept inside helter-skelter, without distinction of age or sex, on skins or straw thrown on the earth. In cool weather they used other skins for covers. There is mention of a fire in the middle and a hole at the apex to let out the smoke. Grinding, cooking, and eating were done in front of the hut. 195

The Sweat House

The sweat house, or *temescal*, was an institution common, in some form or other, to all North American Indians. It was most important to the Montereyans and continued so even into the American Era. In the Carmel area this contraption was made by excavating a hole in the ground and building over it a cover of branches, stakes, and faggots. This roof was vaulted and there was no air passage. When a man desired the sweat bath he entered naked. Others built a fire of small pieces of wood near the door. The heat caused copious sweating and the native scraped off the perspiration with a specially devised bone. After half an hour of this he would run out and jump into a nearby pool or river. There was a *temescal* behind

each *ruc* but it would accommodate only one person at a time.

Only the men made use of this bath. Ethnologists claim that it was primitively a religious ceremony of purification but it is unlikely that it had any such significance to the Montereys. It was continued through the mission period because stopping it proved inimical to native health. Women and children, who did not indulge, were covered with skin sores, the itch, etc. Furthermore, the native had recourse to it as a relief from fatigue and so used it in mission days after his work in the fields. Lastly, it was used as a remedy for nearly all illnesses. It cured many disorders; in others it brought death. Its efficiency to relieve fatigue is attested by Colton and others.

It likely was not this common method of causing perspiration that was resorted to in time of illness. Rollin says that when an Indian was sick his friends would dig a trench on the beach and build a fire in it and on the excavated ground. When the fire died down the ashes and coals were raked off and the sand stirred. The invalid stretched himself in the trench and was covered with the heated earth. He stayed there till the sweating began to decrease and then rushed into the water.

The length of time spent in the sweat box is variously estimated at fifteen minutes up. Evidently the Indian remained as long as he could stand it. Colton says they sometimes stayed so long they could hardly crawl out, or occasionally had to be carried out and dumped into the water by their companions. But even in these cases the victim rose out of the stream hale and hearty. This sweating was a daily occurrence and sometimes it was indulged in even more frequently.

Fages notes another type of sweat bath used only by a woman after childbirth. She would make a hole in the *ruc* floor and build therein a fire on which she would put several large, flat stones. When they were well heated she covered them with green grass to make a bed. She would then lie thereon with the baby. Rollin adds that she covered herself with pelts. When she felt the stones cooling she got up and plunged into cold water. The process was repeated several times daily for about a week. Fages says that at the end she was as agile as ever; Rollin, that the custom sometimes caused serious trouble to the generative or urinary organs and occasionally

Artifacts

The handicraft of these Indians is imperfectly known. They made excellent bows and arrows. The bow was flattened wood with its convex side covered by deer sinew. This extended a bit beyond the tips and was looped to admit the bowstring. When relaxed the convex side became concave. A fur muff was wrapped around the string to keep it from resounding against the bow and thus frightening away an animal missed by the first arrow. The arrow shaft was perfect, beautifully feathered, and headed with well worked flint. The Indians went to the hunt or to battle with some dozens of these arrows in a quiver made of the whole skin of a fox or small otter. It is said that one of the duties of the chief was to furnish arrows for war. If this be true the trade of arrowsmith must have existed.

There is one early mention of small daggers but it could be an error in observation. The objects may have been scrapers. These were flat bones of unknown size and shape. They served to scrape off sweat in the bath and during exercise; also, in private quarrels they were used to draw blood. The men always carried them. Old Gabriel, the Monterey Indian, who survived at Salinas till 1890, used a dull knife to scrape his skin till it was red—this before his bath, but not in a *temescal*. Rollin says they had daggers and even short spears, but he may have been talking of other tribes which he had mentioned just in passing. They used shields in battle.

A straight club, and no doubt a knife, completed their arms for war and the hunt. No further details on the club are available except that one was carried in each hand during the rabbit hunt. The knife is not specifically mentioned but words for it have come down to us. We assume it resembled that of their neighbors: a tongue shaped flint with a wooden handle.

Likewise, fire sticks, although not mentioned, evidently existed and resembled those in use among their neighbors: one flat and oblong held between the feet, and one long and round held against it and revolved rapidly between the palms. Both ignited and burned a little from the friction. At San Luis Obispo and elsewhere these sticks were carried by the Indian at all times in a net girdle. They had twine. Names for winnowing, roasting, watertight, and two other unidentified kinds of baskets are preserved. They certainly

had flails to knock off the seed and baskets in which to catch, carry, and store it; mats and nets for carrying objects; but of what or how these things were made we do not know. There were mortars for grinding seeds (Ortega saw them at the Pajaro) and utensils made of bark expertly used by the women to roast seeds. Their awls were made from the foreleg of the deer. They had two kinds of paddle to dig with: one incorporated the abalone shell for a scoop, and the other was a flat stick. The hair of the head was cut with firebrands.

Wallets, pouches for various uses, and quivers were partially cured, intact skins of small animals. The only opening made was between the hind legs. The skin of the deer and antelope was carefully removed and the head part made to preserve its natural shape by packing with straw. The hunters wore them to get near their quarry. They also could stuff birds, as was noted at the Pajaro *rancheria* in 1769. Their boats were flattish bundles of tules propelled by poles in shallow water and paddles in deep. They were used for fishing, and so despite absence of specific mention they must have had something to fish with. The salmon which came into the Carmel River was taken by stoning. Sardines were picked up on the beach when whales chased schools of the small fish into shallow water.

Music and Games

The only musical instruments noted for the Monterey district are the flute or pipe heard by Father Crespi in Ensen and a split stick like a distaff used to beat the measure of their songs.

The equipment which served in their diversions was equally simple. The game called *takersia* consisted of spinning three inch straw rings into the air and endeavoring to throw a five foot rod the thickness of a cane through the opening. Two players competed in a cleared square twenty yards by twenty. The game was three points. If the rod went through the ring it was two points, but if it brought the ring down one point only was scored.

Toussi was played by two on each side, all sitting with a mat in front of them. Each in his turn hid a small piece of wood in one hand. The players' hands were under the mat and they made a thousand grimaces and motions to distract their opponents. The hands then came from under the mat and the other side guessed in which hand the object was. It was one point for or against accord-

ing as the guess was right or wrong. The stick passed when the guess was right. Five points was game. This and probably *takersia* were gambling games. The stake used to be anything possessed by the parties, but usually a pouch, handful of seeds, or some beads. The winner was popular with the women. 197

Clothes and Ornaments

The native wardrobe was the simplest. Men and children went entirely naked by preference, and the women wore an apron fore and aft tied around the waist and extending to the knees. It was made either of red and white cords, twisted and worked as closely as possible, or of green and dry tule interwoven. In cold weather the costume was completed by a half-tanned deer skin over the shoulders. Girls between nine and fourteen wore a simple girdle. By reason of the cold or the nature of the individual, the men would sometimes wear a cloak made of rabbit or otter skin, hair side out. It was tied with a cord under the chin and reached to the hips. It is unlikely that anyone wore a hat. It is said that as protection against cold the men would cover themselves with mud and let it dry on them.

The native ornaments are uncertain. Ortega saw feather head-dresses at the Pajaro village. They go unmentioned otherwise, so their design and significance is unknown. Face tattooing prevailed among the women and probably also among the men, but to what extent is unrecorded. In late mission times the ears were pierced and earrings worn, but there is no indication that this was a primitive custom. The languages contain words for necklace. They certainly had red, white, and black body paint and apparently both sexes used it; probably as elsewhere, the men chiefly but not exclusively for war, and the women for the dance. Black paint was used for mourning. The padres were able to stop the use of paint in all cases except for mourning. The Indian grieved so much for a departed friend that the missionaries had not the heart to interfere. They had no special hair-do. La Pérouse says they simply burned it off to within four or five inches of the scalp.

Food

The food was as simple as the raiment. Apparently the staple was flour made from every available grass and weed seed. Rollin no

doubt errs in considering the staple meat and fish. In season the women beat the seeds off the plant into a basket. These were roasted in bark vessels over hot embers, a process requiring no little dexterity, then pounded to flour in a stone mortar. The flour was mixed with water and served either in the form of balls, rolled between the palms, or as a mush. A Rumsen coyote myth hints that wild oats were the best liked seed and that buckeye nuts were used only when all other foods failed.

Acorns were valued. They were dried, pounded into meal, and the meal leached to remove the tannin. They used hot water for this but just how is not noted. From the meal they made a mush and also a bread. According to one of their myths it was eaten with seaweed. No edible nut, fruit, berry, root, grass, or fungus escaped them. It is said that their reason for burning grass in the fall was threefold: to drive rabbits into the open, to facilitate the growth of seed-bearing plants, and so that they could get at the fresh shoots which sprung up after the early rains. This grass they ate green. Pine nuts were obtained by felling the tree. This was accomplished by building a ring of fire at its base.

The *Carmeleños* preferred meat to fish. Indeed if they could get game they would not fish. The same is likely true of the other nations. The men were fine hunters. Dressed in the skin of a doe or antelope and imitating the call and actions of the animal, the Indian on all fours would go right up to the herd. When close enough he would quietly squat and send two or three arrows into the unsuspecting beast. Like cats they stalked birds and at the proper distance let fly an arrow which seldom missed even small creatures. Rabbits and jack rabbits seem to have been hunted sometimes by large groups armed with clubs, but as a rule small animals were shot or patiently dug out of holes. Apparently bears were hunted with the bow and arrow. If they shot a female with her young, they would catch the cubs and fatten them for the table. It is unlikely that dogs were known before Spanish times. Rats, mice, and squirrels were acceptable food. They preferred fat to lean meat, hence they liked the crow. In mission times raw beef and suet were considered delicacies.

They fished from small tule rafts when food was short and ate all shell fish obtainable. When a whale washed ashore they had

food for many days. Other sea mammals were not spurned. They could catch the sea otter and possibly the seal and sea lion; just how is unknown—probably by shooting them.

Despite the note that the Indians liked raw beef, there is no reason to believe that they did not cook nearly all meats and fish. The most distinctive feature in California cooking is the absence of watertight fireproof ware. Consequently, liquids were cooked by hot stones thrown into them. The stones were changed till the mess was done. Wooden bowls were the cooking vessels. Meat and fish were broiled over hot coals; salmon was roasted in the embers. Whether they relished insects or not goes unrecorded. They evidently did not, for a European could not have seen such food without noting it. They did not eat human flesh as food but the family of a victor in war may have eaten a token bit from the body of the vanquished.

Despite the abundance of game and fish, their laziness made them prefer spoiled, even putrified, food to the exertion necessary to obtain fresh. Mealtime depended on the appetite of the individual, but as a rule each family had a meal in common toward evening. They were abstemious because lazy, but gluttons when food abounded.

Social and Political Life

Their social and political life was free from most encumbrances and, on the whole, sensible and efficient. No doubt this results from the smallness and isolation of the groups in relatively large living spaces.

Each nation had its chief (or as the Spaniards called him *capitan*), who kept about him a few friends to act as advisors. He was respected and obeyed by all. This was not, however, because of any law or punitive ability possessed by the leader, but merely because he decided in agreement with his people. There is some evidence that any individual who did not agree with the community mind, either in decisions of the chief or other commonly held opinions, packed himself off with or without his family to a nearby nation.

It may be assumed that in the rare instances where the chief and his friends were uncertain of the mass opinion, they would call together the men and women. One or other old man might talk on such occasions. The women would not. The wise chief would keep

a sharp ear open for grunts by all and then pass a judgment agreeable to the assembly.

It is said that a Monterey chief held his office for life and that the office was hereditary. Also, that his main duty was to lead in war, furnish the bows and arrows, and animate the warriors. He was supposed to excel in the use of the bow and arrow. This information, however, dates from some forty years after the Spanish occupation. We may be forgiven for doubting some of it. The central California Indian character even as noted today would hardly permit the acceptance of a man as chief merely because his father had been. These Indians possess a somewhat uncanny ability in judging men. Almost invariably the chief is the most prudent, kindly, and intelligent among them. If the son of a leader possesses such qualities he does not take it upon himself to succeed to the vacated office. He is approached by the older men of the tribe and asked if he wishes the position. There is good reason to hold that if there be another member of the tribe, or even a stranger who has come to the tribe, who possesses better qualifications, it is he who is approached. How else can we explain the number of refugees from the missions who became chiefs in the Tulares? In other words, the selection of a chief is a simple process of nature to which is added the formality of asking and accepting. He is merely the natural born leader of the group.

There is no reason to suppose that a Monterey chief possessed any more authority or means of enforcing his decisions than would any other natural leader of men. All such leaders accomplish their designs by the mere use of their wits and their friends. The Carmel sacramental records note a number of ex-chiefs. One may presume, therefore, that the office was not necessarily for life.

It is said that the chief, and he alone, had the privilege of taking to wife two or more maidens. This is not borne out by the Carmel records. Tatlun, chief of the *Carmeleños*, had but one wife and she was the mother of all his children, whereas Chilichom, chief of Jojopan, had four wives. It is said that if the chief had children by any of the women, she was best beloved and he kept her for life but still retained the privilege of going with other unmarried women. But on the other hand, a few of the common Indians would take to wife two or three sisters. Others had two wives who

are not said to be related to each other.

The chief's distinguishing marks were a special hair-do and a rabbit skin robe, at least so says Rollin and he seems to be speaking of Monterey. One chief of Ecgeajan had a name which confirms the part about the robe: *Patch-hepas* (*ehepas* means rabbit skin coat).

Besides the chiefs there were others who had influence by reason of their experience and good sense; one such probably dwelt in each *rancheria*. There were also smart old women who claimed and were accorded certain mysterious powers over the weather or sickness. Very little is known of them but apparently the natives dealt with them from fear and not from love or respect.

The old woman made the people believe she controlled the rains and sun and would extract presents from them. If the weather turned out as they desired, she was happy and so were they. If it did not, she pretended that she was angry with them and so had not heard the petitions; hence, they would try methods of placating her.

Medicine

An Indian medicine man may have had several tricks but we know only two of them. When any part of his patient's body was afflicted he would conceal a small stone in his mouth and, sucking the afflicted part, would take out the stone and say it was the cause of the trouble. If no cure followed, others would sing and dance before the sick person. As one padre commented about San Diego, and the same is no doubt true elsewhere, these remedies were often satisfactory, for the most widespread native infirmity was melancholy and fear.

We know little else on Monterey medicine. As already mentioned the sweat house was used for nearly all ailments. Colton testifies to the skill of an Indian woman at Monterey in the use of herbs. This was after the mission period and it is likely that her pharmacopoeia was learned from foreign Indians and the Spaniards. The *1814 Respuesta* says that one Indian knew a plant which cured "bloody dysentery," but that his knowledge being his livelihood he did not wish to divulge the secret. They bound fast an aching limb, or let blood with a jagged flint from any part of the body that pained, and caused vomiting by putting the finger down the throat. For emetics they used sea water or soap weed juice. They made tea and poultices from something resembling linseed in taste

and action. The tea was taken for acute fevers and the poultice used to reduce inflammation. Other herbs, likewise unidentified, were used for a tea that aided the action of the sweat house, and from them likewise poultices were made.

Hemorrhages from wounds were stopped with tampons of animal hair held in tightly with skin laces. If this did not work, the injured person bled to death; if it did, there was left an ugly scar. Bone dislocation often, and hernia always, defeated them but they were adept at setting broken bones. Bark served as splints and hide thongs kept them in place.

Childbirth and Child Care

As a rule, parturition was relatively easy, because the Monterey female pelvis was large and well shaped. In the rare cases where it was difficult, both mother and child usually died, for delivery technique was unknown. Old women served as midwives. They tied the cord and plunged the newborn infant into cold water to wash it. These same old women applied poultices in case inflammation followed the post-puerperal sweat bath. The sacramental registers show that a Christian about to give birth sometimes returned to her native haunts, probably to her mother's house.

The newborn child's arms were held in place at its sides with strips of skin, and the legs stretched out. It was then swaddled in skins and tied into a tile shaped piece of bark with hide thongs. Holes and openings took care of the evacuations. Whether it was carried in the arms or on the back goes unrecorded. In later times it traveled in a blanket on the mother's back. One child was nursed till the next arrived and a last child often had mother's milk till it was four years old.

Marriage and Divorce

Marriage was as easily contracted as dissolved. If the intended were a maiden her parents were consulted by the parents of the boy, but if the girl did not like the suitor the matter ended there. If the object of one's affections was a widow, the lady spoke for herself. If accepted the man would make some small gift to his betrothed and eat at her house. There seems to have been no other marriage rite. The pair would depart for the woods and return in the morning with their faces savagely scratched by each other's fingernails. By

this sign they were universally recognized as man and wife. It is said that intercourse never took place even afterwards without this mutual and cruel practice.

Navarrete says that in both tribes wife purchase prevailed with the groom's relatives raising part of the price in the case of the Rumsens. The payment was divided among the bride's relatives.

Divorce consisted in abandoning the wife and entering the scratching ceremony with someone else. It would seem from the sacramental records that the man usually exercised this right, but that a woman also was free to depart when she wished. The abandoned mate seemed to have little trouble finding a new partner. Children invariably went with the mother. It was apparently a tribal crime for the husband to beat his wife and then take up with another. In such cases he seems to have departed for another nation.

The Rumsens are said to have had the custom of severely beating the man who violated his neighbor's wife but they never touched the women. The Excelens would have the adulterer take the woman but he had to give the husband enough to buy a new wife.

As a rule, a man had one wife at a time but there were exceptions. One of the myths suggests that in cases where the wife was not very fertile, the husband would ask her permission to take a second wife so that there might be many in the family.

There is some evidence of prostitution but it was rare. It is said that professional sodomists were found along the whole coast. These were men, who went about dressed as women among the women, and who were conceded the rights and duties of that sex. Their perverse relations with men were not stable unions. It is not specifically stated that there were any of these oddities at Monterey. It seems unlikely that they would have gone unnoted had they been encountered. Wherever missions were founded they fled the district. 198

Songs

These Indians knew both singing and dancing. About the latter no specific details have been preserved. They had songs both sad and gay, all sung in the same time. In these compositions they used detached words naming birds, animals, seeds, places, etc. The compositions which make sense to us are thought to have resulted from

contact with the Spanish. For example, "I dream of you, I dream of you jumping, rabbit, jack rabbit and quail." Songs were sung at dances, games, and funerals; also in connection with war, sickness, and food gathering. They were likewise used as charms: to get good weather, find a wife, get game, return an absent one, and to bring harm to an enemy. A gay tune sung when the harvest was good reads simply: "much seed-a-a, much seed." One to bring vengeance on a private or national enemy ran: "bad-o-o bad," or they might specify the defects of the neighbor. In both instances, some manner of dance accompanied the blessing or malediction. The person on whom the evil was wished would invariably start a fight with the chanter if he got wind of the matter. The use of gay, sad, vindictive, and petitionary singing was frequent. It is likely that they had several crude axioms but only two have survived: "Men who shoot accurately are esteemed and liked"; "Is there much to eat, let us eat much, when we are sick we will not eat."

Myths

The half dozen Rumsen myths that have survived are apparently fragments of one creation, flood, and culture origin story. Patched together they would read: All the land was flooded up to the tops of the Gabilan Mountains. Here Eagle, Humming Bird, and Coyote took refuge. When the water receded, Eagle ordered Coyote to take to wife a beautiful girl whom the latter had seen in the (Salinas) river, that, of her, people might be raised up again. Humming Bird drew Coyote's ire by ridiculing him because he did not know the best part of the body in which to bear a child. But the Eagle saved Humming Bird's life by hiding the little creature under its great wings. In later attempts on his life Humming Bird always escaped or overcame death. Coyote made the girl take a wood tick off him and swallow it. When she did, she became pregnant.

Now they had but one child, so Coyote with his wife's permission married a second woman. He then had in all five children. These went and founded the five villages each with its different language: Ensen, Rumsen, Ekkheya, Kakonta, and Guaccheron. (Ecgeajan is the old name for Ekkheya, and Sargenta Ruc most likely an alias for Kakonta.)

Coyote gave the people carrying nets, bows and arrows, baskets in which to carry seeds on the back, etc. He taught them how to

leech acorns and to make acorn mush and bread. He suggested they eat it with seaweed gathered with abalones and mussels at low tide. He told them to eat buckeye nuts when other food failed and to gather (and store) wild oat seed for *pinole*.

Coyote lost one wife when she ran to the seashore and turned into a sand flea, the other died of fright at the seashore when she saw a *makewiks* (whale?) rise to the surface of the water. Coyote had failed to tell her about such a creature when he was describing what she would see there. Coyote, however, laid her by a fire and by singing, dancing, and jumping three times he brought her back to life.

He got one of his wives by going up to a group of women and asking that one of them remove a thorn from his eye. He seized the one that approached to do it and ran off with her.

After he had renewed people in the land and taught them how to live, he grew old and when he could no longer walk he said: "Woe is me, now I go." 199

War

Wars were very frequent before the coming of the Spaniard. The reasons for them have been noted as have some of the customs. La Pérouse says that they killed all the enemy they could get their hands on, cut off their hair, and plucked out the eyes, which by some process they preserved as signs of victory. Others say they took off the heads of the vanquished, still others that it was the scalp and with it part of the skull.

The warriors painted their bodies red and were adorned with feathers. Wives and children sat on the sidelines to join in victory or flee in defeat. Sometimes they agreed to settle the issue on the outcome of a duel.

The Funeral

Of the mortuary customs little is known. When a person died the funeral followed immediately. A mourning ceremony preceded and accompanied it. Near relatives singed off their hair, blackened their faces with pitch, and covered themselves with ashes. The pitch remained till it wore off months later. Fasting also and withdrawal to the mountains served to allay the sorrow. Navarrete says that the whole tribe mourned a chief by lamenting around the body as

many as four days. Many tore out their hair and put ashes on their heads.

Fages says that the dead were interred where they fell; La Pérouse, that they were burned and the ashes thrown in a "ditch." Neither statement is exact. The *Monterey Death Records* note three methods of disposal: interment apparently outside the village in a spot chosen at random, abandonment of a corpse in the forest, and cremation. The reasons for the diverse methods are likely those suggested in the 1814 *Respuesta* from San Francisco. If the deceased had no friends, the body was merely dragged into the forest and left there. If the friends and relatives were few and lazy, he was buried; if numerous and a bit active, they gathered wood and burned the body.

Unweaned infants were buried with a deceased mother unless some friend or relative wished to raise the child. Seeds, beads, etc. were thrown on the corpse by the mourners. One of the myths suggests that singing, dancing, and jumping were connected with funerals.

After the funeral everything that had been possessed by the deceased including his hut was burned. In later times animals owned by him were killed, and plants in his garden were pulled up. His name was never mentioned again except as a means of insulting his friends or relations. One of the worst insults that could be given an Indian was to say that his father was dead. For this rule an orphan could and often did grow up without knowing his dead parents' names. When a Spaniard mentioned to one the name of a deceased friend or relative, the Indian apparently did not take it ill but tears came to the eyes. The only reason ever given by an Indian for these practices was that they wished to forget the dead. It was no doubt true but there must have been other primitive reasons. In our days the practice of destroying all property of the dead maintains in the Sierra Nevada. The destruction is a community project and, despite objections on the part of wife or children, the group will by stealth accomplish the destruction. Navarrete maintains that among the Rumsens a deceased chief's possessions were distributed among his relatives but that with the Excelens the friends and relations added to his holdings and all was buried with the body.

Religion

These natives were not without a religious sense. Fages said that they had no idea of God or the hereafter. But the 1814 *Respuesta* credits them with a confused notion of eternity. The dead went to where the sun sets. There a man received them. Unfortunately, however, for the peace of the living, they could come back and visit their friends at dream time. Further, there were people in the sky who had an influence on earth; also, the sun and moon possessed some power, and certain old women had a sort of dominion over plant growth. From their songs, charms, and tales it would seem they attributed occult powers to certain animals and natural phenomena. Fog, for example, was supposed to be able to convey a message to absent ones. Navarrete says that the Rumsens believed the sun to be human and to have the power to kill them; while the Excelens honored owls as the reincarnations of men.

Their ways of showing reverence to the occult powers indicates that fear engendered their devotions, for they used similar methods to indicate peace and friendship with men of whom they were afraid. They smoked tobacco for pleasure and would blow a puff of smoke toward the sun, moon, or sky. They would similarly throw a handful of their seeds or flour. In doing this, they would say, "Here goes this so you will give us good weather (or food) tomorrow," or "that another year you will give us greater abundance." The feather-tipped sticks found at the Monterey cross are thought by Kroeber to have been so-called prayer sticks. It is certain that elsewhere in California such sticks were used in worship. Their usefulness apart from, or for that matter in, worship is not known. They used them with arrows to pacify the Spaniards in 1770. Offerings of food were made to the cross and also to the Spaniards. Food and gifts were given the old wench who handled the crops and the weather.

It is uncertain but very likely that objects like the stuffed bird found at the Pajaro and the strange wooden emblem (the cross) left by the mysterious Spaniards, or even certain spots in the woods where poles crowned with leaves were set up, were given a sacred character and that about them religious dances, songs, and offerings of food and tobacco were made. Details are lacking. They resembled most primitive peoples in holding a post-harvest festival. When the

seeds were gathered, the chief of each tribe gave a feast at which his people ate, sang, and danced.

200

Personal Names

The baptismal registers seem to indicate that children were not named at birth but were referred to merely as baby, son, or daughter. The name was given when a second child arrived. This name, however, was not necessarily permanent. It could be changed later for one more appropriate and the Indian could be known to different native groups by different names. A husband apparently often changed his wife's name from what it was to a word referring to where he got her. In Excelen personal names often contained the word elements for woman, girl, son, daughter, child, etc. Although nearly a thousand different personal names have been preserved, very few can now be translated. Examples of men's names are: Black-Bear, Seed, Walking-(One), Quail, Mountain-Lion, Rabbit-Robe-Child, Who-Is-He, Very-Little-Father, Big-Boy, Buzzard, Chal-Man; of women's names: Sea-Woman, Rumsen-Woman, Oak-(Grove)-Child, From-Excelen, Land's-Maiden, Very-New-Sister, and Own-Sun-Light. The last name had no romantic value to the Indians. Who-Is-He was the Indian who had come from afar. Chal was a *rancheria*, and Buzzard, chief of the Carmel Indians.

11

CARMEL-MONTEREY STATISTICS (1770-1808)

There follow three tables which give a year by year statistical picture of the spiritual work done by the padres among the Indians and non-Indians during the period of spiritual conquest at Carmel and Monterey.

Christian Indian Population . . .

Christian Indian Population...											
YEAR	B (1) Infant	A (2) Infant	P (3) Child	T (4) Youth	I (5) Elders	S (6) Child	M (7) Adult	DEATHS	TR'FERS	CENSUS	
									(8) To	(9) From	(10) Dec. 31
1770		3							3		(6)
1		13	4	2		1					(24)
2		4	2	2		2					(30)
3	3	48	12	62	9		2				(162)
4	3	83	5	6	2	12	5				244
5	8	13	12	58	6	10	10		1	1	(321)
6	14	14	1	31	2	3					(380)
7	14	16	6	31	8	12	3		1		(441)
8	22	9	1	19	3	8	14			3	(469)
9	24					18	21				(454)
1780	19	3		4	4	21	20				(443)
1	16	4				31	23			1	(408)
2	22	43	11	23		34	35				(438)
3	12	55	20	58	26	17	13		(35)		614
4	30	23	5	30	8	26	18		(14)		645
5	36	28	12	51	20	36	30			(1)	711
6	28	7	1	12	3	37	32				694
7	31	17		7		19	17			(6)	707
8	33	16	3	8	7	34	19			(1)	720
9	33	12	1	13	7	26	19		5	(6)	732
1790	34	16	6	20	5	39	62				712
1	35	25	8	35	12	40	21		2	(8)	770
2	30	20	12	38	14	58	20			(6)	800
3	37	21	5	10	5	28	14		(1)		835
4	48	5	5	13	10	31	24		1	(2)	860
5	41	9	2	8	1	38	18		(11)		876
6	18	2		3	6	24	35		(14)	25	835
7	26	9	4	7	3	27	24			(1)	832
8	38	6	1	6		31	17			97	738
9	29	5				35	11		(6)		720
1800	37					9	12		11		747
1	22	1		3		16	33		(61)		785
2	16	1			4	15	155			(34)	602
3	20				1	20	35		(23)		591
4	15	12		3		22	23		(15)		591
5	21	9	1	5	3	10	32			(1)	587
6	15	10		23	22	30	71			(6)	550
7	19	5	2	13	8	19	21		(5)		562
8	27				11	20	31		(8)	7	550
	876	567	142	604	210	859	940		217	206	

(1) Children of Christian Indians. (2) Children of pagans baptised before their ninth year. (3) Offspring of pagan parents aged between nine and fourteen years. They were instructed before baptism. (4) This group, aged fifteen to forty, like the next class, made up their own minds about becoming Christians. (5) Group aged over forty years. (6) (7) Childhood is arbitrarily considered to end at fifteen completed. (8) (9) (10) Indians often transferred from mission to mission or left the mission as ladinos or fugitives. Figures in parenthesis are estimates. The 97 in 1798 is 47 more than noted in the Biennial Report. The 71 in 1806 includes 24 unlisted in the parish registers. Some of them, no doubt, died earlier.

Converts from Paganism by Year and Rancheria . . .

	CARMELENOS					SANTALUCIA			SALINAS				
Year	Ach	Tuc	Ich	Ech	Soc	Exc	Ecj	SR	Ens	KR	Misc.	Total	
1770	3											3	
1	11	2	4	2								19	
2	3	4			1							8	
3	51	78	1	1								131	
4	10	31	7	28	20							96	
5	3	15	18	34	18	1						89	
6	3	11	3	5	10	14		2				48	
7	2	4	8	13	8	18			8			61	
8	2		3	8	2	8		2	6			31	
9													
1780			3	2		4			1	1		11	
1						2			1	1		4	
2		1	2	1				53	18	2		77	
3		1		2		68		14	30	43	1	159	
4						34		7	8	17		66	
5						33		51	7	13	7	111	
6						13		1	2	7		23	
7						15		5	2	2		24	
8						29	2			2	1	34	
9						12		6	3	8	4	33	
1790						26	3	2	2	8	6	47	
1						33	10		8	9	20	80	
2						1	1	1	73	3	5	84	
3						5	5		19	4	8	41	
4						17	4			11	1	33	
5						3	4		3	3	7	20	
6						6	4		1			11	
7						7	9		3	1	3	23	
8						6	6			1		13	
9									5			5	
1800													
1							1			3		4	
2						2	2		1			5	
3						1						1	
4							1		6	8		15	
5						8	4		3	2	1	18	
6						11	12	3	18	10	1	55	
7						1	7	16	3	1		28	
8						5	1		5			11	
Year unknown											4	4	
	88	147	49	96	59	383	76	163	236	160	69	1526	

Other Statistics of Carmel-Monterey . . .

Year	BAPTISMS		CONFIRMATIONS		MARRIAGES			DEATHS	
	Children	Mestizo	Native	Other	Indian	Mixt.	White	Non-Indian	Child Adult
1770									
1									
2					2				
3			1		26	4			
4		3			4		2	1	1
5	4				33	2	1	1	
6	5	4			19		2		
7	4				27			3	1
8	2	2	162	7	18				
9	3	2	159	11	13				4
1780	3	2	22	3	13	1		1	
1	3	1	20	7	15		2	3	3
2	3	1	108	10	19	2	2	1	2
3	4		182	8	33		1	1	1
4	6		168	4	34		1		1
5	4				41	1			1
6	9	1			14	1		2	
7	7	1			12		2	1	
8	5				4		1	1	
9	5	2			29	1		1	
1790	6		250	41	13	2			1
1	8	1	134	15	22		1	2	1
2	8		115	23	32		4	3	2
3	10	1	52	11	20		2	3	1
4	5	2	102	10	21		2	2	1
5	12	1	21	15	13		1	4	1
6	7	1			14	2	3	3	3
7	6	2			13		1	5	4
8	7	2			12	1	3		1
9	9				14		1	2	1
1800	12				9		2	1	1
1	12	1			1		4	2	
2	14				27		2	1	11
3	13				19		2		7
4	3				12		1		
5	11				10		5	3	1
6	16				35			5	2
7	13				17		4	1	2
8	4	1			11		3	1	3
	243	31	1496	165	671	17	55	54	57

In these years many visitors are recorded in the Monterey books. They are not included in the above figures; e.g., baptisms 59 (all, but one, Indians), confirmations 149 (mostly sailors), deaths 34. Of the Indian marriages 173 were blessings of unions existing before conversion, and in 247 of the remaining cases one or both parties were widowed. Mixed marriages are those between Indians and whites. In all instances the woman was Indian.

Notes and References . . .

The number indicates notes referring to the section which precedes it, except that the first note in a chapter may refer to the whole chapter.

CHAPTER I

1.

Wagner, *Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo*, p. 22, records the priest. For place identifications cf. id., pp. 86 ss; Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, pp. 27 ss; Hittell, *History of California*, I, p. 75; Bancroft, *History of California*, I, pp. 76 ss. All the prime sources for Cabrillo's voyage are in Wagner, o.c., which is also a major commentary. Bolton, o.c., and Davidson in *Report of the Superintendent of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, 1886*, complete the trilogy of first-class commentaries.

2.

Chapman, *History of California*, pp. 86 ss, 144; Wagner in *The Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, II, pp. 140 ss; VII, pp. 241 ss; Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico*, p. 27.

3.

Cermeño (Portuguese spelling *Cermenho*) and Cabrillo had the same and very common family name: *Rodríguez*. Each is better known by his mother's surname. Chapman, o.c., pp. 112, 116. For further details on the expedition cf. *Sutro Documents in Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California*, II, pp. 20 ss; Wagner in o.c., III, pp. 3 ss; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, I, p. 36. A curious note by Costansó says some survivors reached Mexico afoot. Old authors tell this story of a pilot abandoned by Drake in *New Albion. Out West*, XVI, p. 59; Zárate-Salmerón in *Land of Sunshine*, XII, p. 184; Taylor, *Indianology in The California Farmer*, Mar. 29, 1861. Cermeño no doubt saw the bay, Dec. 9, feast of St. Peter, Martyr, and crossed its mouth next day. Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast*, p. 371, n. 48.

4.

Chapman, o.c., p. 114; Eldredge, *History of California*, I, p. 100; Wagner in *The Quarterly*, VII, p. 366; Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake*, p. 490, n. 23; Davidson in *Geographic Society Proceedings*, 1907, p. 19.

Father Engelhardt, o.c., I, p. 44, supposes that since Vizcaino deprived others of credit in his gulf expedition he did likewise here. This is not evident. The circumstances differ. Moreover, the 1620 *Report* of the friar diarist states: "This realm (California) has never been viewed or explored so exactly as on this (1602-1603)

expedition." Bolton, *o.c.*, p. 111. Furthermore, Vizcaíno though specifically forbidden to rename known landmarks did rechristen several named by Cabrillo. He was not reprimanded for this, so apparently the older charts either did not show these places or, if they did, it was without accuracy. Wagner in *The Quarterly*, VII, p. 263. For details on the others see *id.* VII, pp. 20 ss and 233 ss; II, pp. 140 ss; III, pp. 3 ss. The matter from *The Quarterly* is republished in Wagner, *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast*.

5.

Nearly all California historians insist that fear of pirates played its part in the motives for exploring California. Wagner says he knows of no documents to support their view. Viceroy Monterey mentions defense and security of these realms and of the China ships as reasons for study of California. Engelhardt, *o.c.*, I, p. 33; *Sutro Documents*, p. 60; Wagner in *o.c.*, VII, pp. 233, 378. For the matter on Lower California see Chapman, *o.c.*, p. 129. Unless otherwise noted the matter on Vizcaíno is taken from the documents in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*. For Vizcaíno's qualifications see Clavigero, *Historia de la California*, Bk. II, no. 3; Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, p. 682; *Sutro Documents*, pp. 17, 22, 30, 53, 58-61. Above all else Vizcaíno was a salesman. For the Carmelite Fathers see Appendix 1.

6.

See Appendix 2, 3, 4.

7.

Wagner in *o.c.*, VII, pp. 357, 359, 361. Father Antonio says that men were dying daily but there is no specific mention of any death in Monterey. Of those who died at sea before porting at this place, only one is named: Ensign Juan de Acevedo Tejeda y Pereda. Cabrillo had noted snow in November and both he and Drake complained of intense cold a bit farther north, though the latter was there in June. Monterey death 546 says that Indians froze in the Santa Lucia in 1787.

8.

Monterey baptisms 31 and 32 locate Tucutnut. See below note 68. Even in 1770 the Monterey and Pacific Grove sites were uninhabited. The dwelling floor discovered in 1946 near the Custom House was either prehistoric or a place of seasonal occupancy. *The Quarterly* etc., vol. 25, pp. 209, 210. See also below note 31.

Although Fray Antonio agrees with the general about the number of inhabitants, one doubts less the good faith of the witnesses than their interpretation of Indian signs and of the fact that many came to the camp. No doubt every Indian in the neighborhood had a look at the mysterious strangers. In 1770 there were not above five hundred Rumsens in Carmel Valley. What little is said in Vizcaíno

indicates a low native culture, and ethnological experience seems to prove that where great numbers are congested in a small field the culture is relatively high. Wagner in *o.c.*, VII, p. 361. The 1603 letter etc., are in *Sutro Documents*, pp. 65-73. Fray Antonio (Wagner in *o.c.*, VII, p. 361) says the people went naked. He no doubt means the men and children, and these, weather permitting. He also says the Indians used skins of bear, deer (and lion). The notes that they had a form of government but says no more about it.

9.

From the name given it, Point Año Nuevo was likely named as the expedition left Monterey. No previous expedition could have passed it in a new year. The fact of its discovery is not noted but the name appears for the first time on the Vizcaino maps and *derrotero*. Wagner in *o.c.*, VII, p. 362; VIII, p. 56.

10.

The remedy for scurvy was likely never used again; at least there seems to be no connection between this discovery and the fact that in later years the Manila galleon used the acid fruits of Lower California to revive its scurvy patients. The English got the lime juice idea from James Cook who got it from the Spaniards. Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man*, p. 7. Fray Antonio calls the fruit *manzanillas* and says it was used by the local Indians. Wagner in *o.c.*, VII, p. 375. It is more precisely described by Clavigero, *o.c.*, Bk. II, no. 3 (Lake and Gray translation, p. 131). Wagner identifies it as the fruit of the *opuntia imbricata*, a species of cactus. For death estimates see Fray Antonio in Wagner *o.c.*, VII, p. 376 vs. Torquemada, *o.c.*, p. 724, and Vizcaino in *Sutro Documents*, p. 72.

Torquemada, *o.c.*, p. 725 and Father Antonio, *l.c.*, speak of the rest. This shrine of St. Anthony is no doubt that located at Churubusco. The chapel is pictured in *The National Geographic Magazine*, Feb., 1944, p. 164.

11.

Sutro Documents, pp. 60, 61, 62, 68. Fray Antonio says all had the sacraments but he must mean all those on his ship (Wagner in *o.c.*, VII, p. 370), or that the others were prepared at Monterey. Palou (Bolton Edition), *Noticias de la California*, I, p. 313. For the illness of the priests see Wagner in *o.c.*, VII, pp. 349, 367. The 1603 letter is in *Sutro Documents*, p. 72. The padres had full spiritual jurisdiction from the inquisitors at Mexico, and the archbishop there had made them pastors of the men of the fleet. There is no mention of obligations to the Indians. Wagner in *o.c.*, VII, p. 299.

CHAPTER II

12.

Unless otherwise noted, this chapter is based on Chapman, *o.c.*, pp.

138-225, except as follows: Wagner in *o.c.*, VIII, pp. 55 ss, treats of Carreri, and Bolton, *o.c.*, p. 116, furnishes Fray Antonio's quotation. Details on Vizcaino's 1611-1614 expedition are in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, IV, pp. 11 ss; Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, p. 163, says Vizcaino was last heard of fighting Dutch pirates in 1616 at Salagua (state of Colima, Mexico).

CHAPTER III

13.

Unless otherwise noted, the matter in this chapter is based on the *Diary* and *Letters* of Father Crespi in Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi*; the *Diary* of Costansó in *Academy of Pacific Coast History Publications*, II, and that of Portolá in the same, I. There went in the Portolá party the following:

Portolá and servant	2
Rivera and servant	2
Fages and seven (Portolá says six) Catalonian Volunteers	8
Costansó, the engineer	1
Ortega and twenty-six or twenty-seven <i>cuera</i> soldiers	27
Indians from Lower California	15
Muleteers	7
Fathers Crespi and Gómez	2
Unaccounted for, unless Father Crespi added incorrectly	8 to 10
Total	74

14.

The throwing of earth into the air was a sign of peace. Father Antonio did this at San Diego in 1602. Where he learned the trick is not noted. Wagner in *o.c.*, VII, p. 34. The Ensen Indians are frequently called by the Spanish nickname, Zanjones. The name has been perpetuated by a land grant comprising roughly their tribal lands. Engelhardt, *Mission San Carlos*, p. 168. The name of the site means *Camp of the Hunters*.

The Salinas River seems to have been given the Christian name *San Antonio* (Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, p. 42); the Spaniards in mission times called it *Rio de Monterey*. The present name must derive from the *salinas* (salt marshes) at its mouth. Costansó calls it the *Carmel* even when he returns to San Diego. *Diary*. Dec. 11. Father Crespi named it *Santa Delfina* when he crossed it with Fages Mar. 20, 1772. Fages, who had crossed it Nov. 21, 1770, referred to it then as the misnamed *Carmelo*. Father Crespi notes that in 1773 it was called *Rio de Monterey*. Cf. Respective *Diaries* of the first three expeditions to San Francisco Bay. Early American maps sometimes call it *San Buena Ventura River*.

Wheat, *Maps of the California Gold Region*, nos. 76, 79.

Mulligan's Hill was the vantage point. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, p. 41, n. 13.

15.

Father Crespi and Costansó say that seventeen were sick; Portolá that twenty-one *cuera* soldiers, himself included, were stricken, six of them seriously enough to be anointed. Elsewhere (Bolton, *o.c.*, p. 42) Father Crespi says twenty and more were sick with twelve totally disabled. As is evident these statements refer to different dates.

16.

They called Pinto Lake *Lagunilla del Corral* because they fenced off some ground to make it easier to guard the animals at night. The several small lakes thereabouts they called *Lagoons of the Chestnuts of Our Lady del Pilar*. For the scurvy cure see *Academy . . . Publications*, I, p. 55.

17.

Geese were scarce at Monterey but firewood and pasture abundant. The camp site was on the Monterey side of El Estero then called *El Pilar*. They would have stayed here but the water was bad. Palou-Bolton, *Historical Memoirs of New California*, II, p. 285. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, II, p. 282, says that only the scouts and Costansó went around by the shore. Their Carmel camp was probably on the land now owned by the Carmelite and Notre Dame Nuns.

18.

Wagner in *o.c.*, VIII, p. 56-57. A third Indian deserted later. The two muleteers made their way to San Diego. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, II, pp. 278, 281.

19.

It is likely that the Carmel cross was on the elevation in the center of the beach just south of the river mouth. They gave as the reason for departure that there remained but fourteen sacks of flour and said they departed the ninth. Father Crespi did not see the Monterey cross set up, and though his description of the place would remind one of the road taken Nov. 27, that is, the stretch between El Estero and the bay, this cross was set up beyond a pool on a height facing Vizcaino's anchorage, therefore, on the hillside where the presidio now stands. Father Crespi in Bolton, *o.c.*, p. 51.

There were around Monterey more Indians than let themselves be seen. The approximate population in 1770 was as follows: Achastans, five hundred; Locuyustans and Guacherones, eight hundred; Ensens, five hundred; Excelens and Jojopans, eight hundred; total, twenty-six hundred.

20.

See Appendix 5.

21.

Ortega and eight *cuera* soldiers remained at San Diego; Rivera and twenty others were in Lower California for food. Ten mission Indians, a muleteer, and Fathers Parrón and Gómez completed the San Diego remnant. Two other California Indians were out with the post to Lower California.

22.

These plumed sticks are often referred to as darts. Kroeber thinks they were prayer sticks. Father Crespi says mussels, Father Palou clams, were found at the cross. This may be a clue to the Indian territory in which Monterey was then located. Father Crespi notes that there were no mussels on the beach at Carmel (*Diary* for Nov. 30, 1769), and even today clams abound at the mouth of the Salinas. Sardines could come from either side of Point Pinos, but Carmel Indians would not fish except when hunting was bad. That year it was good. Costansó in *Academy . . . Publications*, I, p. 155. It would, therefore, seem that the Monterey Bay area from the Salinas River to Point Pinos was in Locuyustan territory and that the Locuyustans had made the offering to the cross. This is confirmed by the fact that the Carmel cross, which was certainly in Achastan lands, was found to be without votive offerings. For the miracle of the cross see Appendix 6.

Father Crespi notes that they dug here in three places and that much water poured forth from veins. This digging must have been after the ship arrived.

Father Crespi's long lost *Diary* of this trip has been discovered of late and is published in *The Americas*, Vol. III, nos. 1, 2, 3. It has been used in this and the two following sections. Crespi's letter on the same subject is published in Bolton, *o.c.*, pp. 50 ss.

23.

In the Serra-Noriega *Informe* of July 1, 1784, p. 1, It is said that the mass of June 3 was in a chapel formed of naval flags. The hymn *Veni Creator (Come Holy Ghost)* was written in the early 9th century. In this instance Father Serra likely knelt and kissed the cross. The rest knelt and made the deep bow. The blessing with holy water is an exorcism intended to drive off evil spirits. There need be no apology to satisfy sophisticated moderns. The Catholic Church taught then, as she does now, that Satan is a power to contend with and that the prayers of the Church can and do restrain him. The hyssop was a small bunch of evergreen twigs bound together. When dipped into the holy water container it gathered up a generous amount of the sacramental. Sometimes then, and almost invariably

now, a stick with a metal ball on the end is used.

Father Palou has Viño, but the official entry (Monterey *Deaths*, I, entry 1) has Niño. "On June 3, 1770, in this new mission of San Carlos of Monte-Rey, at the foot of a great cross, which on this very day was planted and blessed in front of the chapel and altar prepared for the first Mass and near the beach of this port, I gave ecclesiastical burial to the remains of Alexo Niño; a *moreno*, free, single, native of Acapulco, who the day before had died aboard the packet boat of His Majesty called *San Antonio*, alias *El Principe*, in which he came in the capacity of calker. He died having received the holy sacraments of penance and extreme unction, etc. Fr. Junipero Serra. (Rubrica)."

The statue used on the altar was of carved and painted wood after the style so common in the old missions throughout the Spanish dominions. The original is likely one of the statues in the Monterey parish museum. It was a gift from Francisco de Lorenzana, archbishop then of Toledo, but formerly of Mexico City. Gálvez had consulted him about the California venture while he was still in Mexico, and it was to Gálvez that the statue had been presented. For further details see note 53.

The *Salve Regina* (*Hail Holy Queen*) was written in the 11th century. Since 1884 it forms part of the prayers said in the vernacular after low Mass. The most popular translation of the *Te Deum* is *Holy God We Praise Thy Name*. The Latin original is one of the oldest Christian hymns and dates from the 4th century.

The ceremonies of taking possession, or rather dominion, really began with the erection of the cross and the lustrations which signified consecration of the land to Christ and a Christian flag. A copy of the *Act of Possession* is in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, pp. 76s.

The term *mission* is improperly applied to a church building. It means the territory served by a specific church. San José Church in this instance served San Carlos Mission. This patronage was never changed; hence, today San Carlos parish has its church dedicated to St. Joseph. This is true of both Carmel and Monterey parishes.

CHAPTER IV

24.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 203. Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 28. This plot served as a presidio down to Amerindian times. It was in front of the present church. The exact location of this first church is unknown. Unless otherwise noted, matter in this chapter is from Palou, *Noticias* and *Vida*, the Serra-Noriega *Informe* or documents translated in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries* or *San Carlos Mission*. The Father President said the Mass and presumably

Father Crespi and Costansó again formed the choir. There was a sermon. Bells may have been hung on a rack outside the church door. For Velasquez see Richman, *California Under Spain and Mexico*, p. 88. For details on the religious observances see *California Historical Society Quarterly* XI, pp. 274 ss.

25.

The number thirty-seven for the first Monterey census is rather a minimum than the certain. As many as forty-seven may have been left behind when the *San Antonio* sailed:

Priests, two; surgeon, one; Fages and his Volunteers, thirteen, sailors, five	21
Soldiers of the <i>cuera</i> (Fages and Father Serra say there were seven, but one had left as a courier	6
Mechanics (only one name has survived. Bancroft says that two came from San Diego on the <i>San Antonio</i> , <i>o.c.</i> , I, p. 168, n. 5)	1 plus 1
Muleteers (two came by land, three by sea)	3 plus 2
Indians (five came by land from San Diego; two deserters were recovered in the Santa Lucia. Bancroft calculates that six came by sea.) Father Serra says he had only seven, but others may have been under Fages' orders	6 plus 7
Total	<hr/> 10 plus 37

Father Serra's figures are in the *Quarterly* quoted, p. 279. The casualties aboard the *San Antonio* may have forced most of those who boarded her at San Diego to remain with her. *Cuera* is translated "leather-jacket" or "cuirassier." Despite Father Serra's fears, no *cuera* soldier proved a serious scandal to the Monterey Indians. Engelhardt, *o.c.*, p. 29.

26.

Monterey deaths 2 to 7; Powers, *Old Monterey*, p. 275, quoting "old maps" places the cemetery "adjoining the north wall of the presidio" and adds that the site corresponds with the "east line of Tyler Street at Pearl." Fages' 1771 plat shows the chicken pens, a kitchen, and a "lugar comun" adjoining the north wall. This, however, would not militate against the cemetery being in the general location noted by Mrs. Powers.

27.

Academy of Pacific Coast History Publications, II, pp. 156 ss; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, p. 83. The completed presidio did not amount to much. In 1776 Father Font says that on the (north) end were the commander's and storekeeper's quarters; also a storehouse. Opposite was a small chapel and the soldiers' barracks. In some huts on either side dwelt families of the soldiers

and artisans. All was built of logs and adobe and enclosed by a log wall. He adds that life there was very uncomfortable merely because the people were too shiftless to use the abundance of material about them. Bolton, *Anza*, IV, p. 289.

28.

Priestley in *The Catholic Historical Review*, VI, p. 148; Bolton in *Academy of Pacific Coast History Publications*, II, pp. 143 ss.

29.

Bolton in *o.c.*, II, p. 153; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 83; Crespi in *The Americas*, III, p. 381.

30.

The Serra-Noriega *Informe* says the padres passed the first few months getting their living quarters and storehouse in order.

Non-Christian Indians were referred to as *gentiles*; those preparing for baptism, *catecumenos*; those baptized, *neofites*. These are technical terms used in the Church since the days of the Apostles. Indians who were released by Church and State as normal citizens were termed *Indios ladinos*. Most of this section is from various notes scattered throughout the old sacramental records. Palou-James, *o.c.*, p. 100; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 101. It was some time before the southern Indians became fluent in Rumsen. For a study of the *gentile* Indians see Appendix 10. As early as July, 1770, Father Serra sent Lower California natives to ask the Monterey Indians to give him some boys for instruction. The Indians said they would send them when the fishing season ended (July 6), but it is unlikely that the promise was kept. *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XI, p. 279. Whence could have come the term "old garden" is unknown. It appears as a *ranchito* name in Chap. VIII. Monterey death 9. Palou-James, *o.c.*, pp. 123, 124. The care and accuracy of Father Palou is illustrated by his specification that "young Christian Indians" went to see Father Serra. This would have been the nine to sixteen age group recorded in the baptismal register. The village site would be immediately behind the present church and somewhat to the east. Baptism 89. The engraving of the Monterey Presidio published in Vancouver (1798 Edition, II, p. 440) locates an Indian dwelling nearby. There were no *rancherías* at Monterey when the Spaniards came. Had there been, they would not have escaped mention. For further information on Tatún and the first converts see Appendix 7. For the Indian gifts see *Publications in Pacific Coast History*, I, p. 155.

32.

A temporary place to house the new priests was thrown together. There came on the *San Antonio* and departed on her for missions in southern California the Friars Paterna, Cruzado, Somera, Cambón, and Jayme. Father Gómez, who had changed places with Father

Dumetz, requested and received Father Serra's permit for himself and Father Parrón to retire to Mexico at this time on account of ill health.

The sickness of the two San Diego pioneers left the California clerical personnel at twelve, enough for only four new missions. There was equipment for six as San Buenaventura had been provided for in 1769. The third requisite, a half dozen soldiers for each foundation, seemed a minor matter. There was Rivera with twenty-two, Fages with eighteen, and twelve more on the way from Guaymas. Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 83. De Croix's set of vestments was of gold cloth with flowers of gold interwoven. It included a banner for the pulpit and an altar frontal. *San Carlos Inventories*, p. 3. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, III, pp. 32 ss, item 28; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 114. The physician was sane on Dec. 27, 1770, for on that day he was sponsor to a child. Monterey baptism 2.

33.

San Antonio Mission was founded July 14. For the names of the two corporals see Monterey baptism 5; San Antonio 6. Sotomayor was one of the soldiers who went to San Antonio (baptism 5), Estévan one of the sailors (*id.* 7). Two of the Indians were Juan Pascual Duarte and Juan Nepomuseno Gutierrez. They may have been the former deserters. During their previous detention in the neighborhood they would have learned some of the language.

The numbers for the soldiers given for Monterey suppose that Fages went alone to San Diego. It is not specifically noted that any other soldiers had arrived between the departure of the *San Antonio* and her return, or that any had come on her in 1771. Palou-James (*o.c.*, p. 123) does say that Rivera had detained a greater part of the troops in the south, but one supposes that this detaining was at the time of the 1770 expedition.

In Vancouver's picture of Carmel Mission (1798 Edition, II, p. 10) a stockade for cattle is shown on the knoll immediately behind the present church. The hut built for the father was temporary and not to be confused with the place of his death. Father Palou says the cross was huge.

For the matter in the last four paragraphs of this section see Fages, *Historical . . . Description . . . of California*, p. 63; Serra, 1773 *Representation* in Smith, *Mission San Carlos*, p. 20; Monterey baptism 23; Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, II, p. 130; Monterey death 8. The full title at Carmel retained the name Monterey: "The Church of the Mission of San Carlos de Monterey in the environs of the River Carmel"; Monterey death 8 and subsequent entries in all books.

Father Palou (*Vida*, p. 124), as usual, chooses his words with care. He does not say that Father Serra talked Rumsen but that he was

learning to talk. Father Serra tells us that he could not learn the tongue. Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 101. The order of Father Serra's day was as follows: All rose at daybreak, venerated the cross, and sang the hymn of praise to their Sacramental Lord. Father Serra said matins and lauds privately before the cross and then went to the church for his Mass, which all attended. Work began after that and continued till sundown with an interruption for lunch. During the day the priest would often venerate the cross and he said the rest of his office before it. At night all assembled again for the same hymn and the rosary.

34.

For sources see Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, pp. 91 ss. Bancroft (*o.c.*, I, p. 182) says there were ten Volunteers. The names of fourteen (plus the original twelve) appear in Monterey sacramental registers prior to 1774. So it would seem that this number had arrived from Guaymas, unless by some chance one or other had two names. More than eight additional *cuera* soldiers appear for the same years but these could have come on various occasions.

35. The first mention of California bound cattle is the note that six head were aboard the *San Carlos* when she left for San Diego Jan. 9, 1769, but these were likely for butchering on board. Hens for breeding were in the cargo Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 129. There were one hundred and sixty-four head in the herd driven up from Lower California in May-July, 1770. See also item T in the Fages' plat of the Monterey Presidio; *San Carlos Inventory Book*, pp. 1-14, and Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, III, pp. 230, 231.

36.

It is usually assumed that Father Serra gave in, but did not agree to the need of heavier guards. Item 10 of his representation to the viceroy in which he requests additional soldiers gives one a different impression. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, III, p. 41. On the San Diego trouble see *Out West*, XVI, p. 56. Father Serra says that the famine brought death to many pagan Indians. This would indicate a bad year for even the wild crops.

Fages evidently returned from San Luis Obispo with the first party toward the end of June and then dispatched another. The first hunt killed thirty bears. Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 35. Father Font, who was adept at collecting gossip, says that the soldiers made use of the San Luis women on this occasion and that Fages was afraid to censure them for their lewd conduct. It seems not to have been a case of rape. Bolton, *Anza*, IV, p. 313; Palou, *Vida*, p. 135.

37.

The bear hunt must have convinced Fages that the Indians of San Luis Obispo were peaceable folk, else he would not have left so small a guard. He promised to leave ten more men on his return.

The rest he needed now to bring back the cattle and provisions. Juan Evangelista was baptized by Father Serra Mar. 19, 1771. He was then estimated to have been nine years old. Father Serra had him confirmed Aug. 4, 1773, by the archbishop of Mexico City—the first of his race or of Upper California to receive that sacrament. He died at Carmel Aug. 9, 1778, having survived his wife but nine days. Monterey baptism 1; confirmation 1; deaths 86, 87; marriage 67.

38.

Recorded nicknames are: *El Ranchero*, *Barrabas*, and *Polvora*. Fernando is listed as aged eight in his baptismal entry, an evident underestimation; Cipriano Riera was likely the one who first learned Rumsen. Father Pieras' last entry in the Carmel books is Nov. 10, and Father Crespi's first, Dec. 31; Father Dumetz' first entry is Jan. 10, 1773. Bancroft says that the pack train returned loaded with supplies that had come on the *San Carlos*. They most likely took back the equivalent of what they had brought. Monterey baptism 39; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 189, 207. Fages wrote a letter dated at Monterey Dec. 22, 1772.

CHAPTER V

39.

The Indians who married were: Andres Fuente (a widower, aged twenty-eight) and Francisco X. Alsaldo; the Spaniards: Manuel Butron, Domingo Arus, and Antonio Yorba; the Mexican: Tomás María Camacho.

"People of reason" did not designate "white people," but rather all who were neither wild Indians nor neophytes under mission rule. The term implied no disrespect of the Indian and likely had its origin in Spanish law which gave uncivilized Indians the legal status of minors.

40.

Statistics for farm and ranch are from Father Crespi's records in the *San Carlos Inventories*. They differ somewhat from those given by Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, III, p. 321. Palou's figures on beasts of burden are for the end of the year, and some of the animals may have been in pack trains at the time. He lists twelve mules and nine horses. Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 191.

41.

Palou writing in May, 1774, says that then for eight months the food supply had been the major problem. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, I, p. 306; III, pp. 127, 266, 270, 271, etc.; IV, pp. 314, 322, 332, 343; Bolton, *Anza*, IV, p. 303. Father Font spoke also of cauliflower and other vegetables and herbs. His note that the artichokes were so large that one would last two or three days makes us wonder if we have lost the species.

42.

Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, III, p. 230; Fages, *Historical . . . Description . . .*, p. 63. The *Noticias* says the church was thirty *varas* long; Fages, forty. Palou, however, in another place agrees with Fages. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 322, 327. Items A and B in Fages' plat; Palou's *Report* in Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, III, p. 229, differs from Engelhardt's translation in *Mission San Carlos*, p. 56. The latter is probably more accurate. Bolton, *Anza*, IV, p. 289. The Serra-Noriega *Informe* says that the 1784 presidio chapel was on the same spot as that of 1770.

43.

Between January and June, '74, five Indians were baptized. This page is missing from the *Carmel Book of Baptisms*. Some unscrupulous, ignorant collector was apparently left alone with the records. He took not only this, but cut out a couple of signatures from other pages. I presume he chose this page because it contained the baptismal entry of the first child with European blood recorded as born in Monterey and probably in California: Pedro Antonio Yorba, baptized Feb. 4, 1774. *Index to Baptisms*, I, entry 171. Missing entries have been fairly well reconstructed from cross references. Those baptized during the famine were either newborn babes or adults in danger of death. For famine details see Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 315, 342.

44.

Anza's father had wished to make this trip or one like it in 1737 but did not receive permit. The son had asked to head for Monterey in 1769 and meet there the other expeditions, but the superior government decided against him. This time a good word from Father Serra to the viceroy had done much to obtain for Anza his wish. Richman, *o.c.*, p. 97; Bolton, *Anza*, II, pp. 106 ss.

45.

The boatswain was Manuel López Insua, a native of Tuy, Galicia, Spain. Death 13. For the note on Costan see Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 228.

46.

Half the Volunteers was twelve; twenty-six in all had come to Monterey. One had died there, and one who was married had returned to Mexico in Jan. 1773. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 342. Two went overland with Fages and ten remained at Monterey.

47.

This was one of the concessions which Father Serra had obtained in Mexico. The cattle were to be cared for and used by San Carlos till the new foundations could receive them. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, III, p. 47.

48.

For arrival of the Rivera group see Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, III, p. 350.

49.

Palou-James, *o.c.*, p. 168, describes Father Serra's classes. June 29, 1773 (the date of the first epidemic death) the neophytes numbered exactly one hundred and seventy. For the romances see *Monterey Marriage Records* and Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 227.

50.

Conrado is mentioned in Monterey baptism 194 and elsewhere in the registers of the period. When Father Font arrived in 1776 he found the seven priests living in three large adobe rooms near a forge and a kitchen. Bolton, *Anza*, IV, p. 301. The harvest is noted in *San Carlos Inventories*, ad annum.

51.

Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, III, pp. 368 ss; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 238. It is unlikely that Rivera ever compensated the padres for these mules.

52.

The *San Carlos*, alias *Toison d'Oro* (Golden Fleece), may not have been the ship of identical name which had come in 1769. This *cayuco* appears similar (but, of course, smaller) to the *viroco* built years before by Cermeño. Both were made by hollowing out the trunk of a tree. *Sutro Documents*, p. 5, n. 2; Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 6, 40.

Father Palou does not give the reason for the soldiers' trip to San Diego, but he also does not say that the *San Carlos* brought provisions for the mission. If it did not, these troops may have gone to San Diego for mission supplies. I do not recall having noted anywhere else word of Father Lasuén's presence at Monterey at this time. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 58. Father Campa's companion on this voyage was Fray Benito Sierra. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 6, 35, 37-43.

53.

Seven of the crew had been lost before the barks had parted. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 49; Maurelle-Barrington, *Voyage of the Sonora*, p. 37 ss. Antonio Estévan Martínez, a sailor on the *Santiago*, had died at Monterey Aug. 31, 1775. *San Carlos* death 40. For the vow, etc., see Maurelle-Barrington, *o.c.*, p. 41; Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 49, 50. In this connection Father Palou (*l.c.*) notes that there was a statue of Our Lady of Belen (Bethlehem) at Carmel and that it was the object of much devotion. The archbishop of Mexico City, Don Francisco Lorenzana, had given it to Don José Gálvez, who in turn had entitled her *La Conquistadora* and enshrined her on the *San Antonio* for the 1769 entry into California. He later ordered the statue removed from this vessel and sent to Carmel Mission. This statue is mentioned also in Chap. IV, and Father Serra says it had been above the altar in San Diego for a year (1769-1770). *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XI, p. 278.

54.

San Carlos baptism 350; death 152.

55.

Father Murguia enters his baptisms without the formula "with the permission of the father minister," thus indicating that he was one of the ministers. Father Dumetz may have been an assistant before, and he certainly was after Father Murguia left. For Father Lasuén see Santa Barbara Mission Archives, photostats in Serra Collection, July 1 to Aug. 22, 1775.

56.

See Appendix 8,

57.

San Carlos Inventories, p. 13; Serra-Noriega *Informe*, p. 4.

CHAPTER VI

58.

Fathers Palou, Cambón, Murguia, and Peña accompanied the president on his visit to Anza. Fathers Crespi and Pieras remained at the mission. Father Dumetz was still replacing Father Pieras at San Antonio. The matter here given on Anza is from Father Font's *Diary* in Bolton, *Anza*, IV, pp. 286 ss, and Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, pp. 173 ss. Father Font's sermon is in Bolton, *o.c.*, pp. 292 ss.

59.

This and what follows are from Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, except otherwise noted.

60.

While at Monterey, two girls of the Anza Expedition married: María Antonia Tapia to José Antonio Buelna and Ana Josefa Castro to José María Soberanes (May 26 and 29, 1776). Three children were born: María Gertrudis Higuera (June 29, 1776), María Cayetana Vásquez (Aug. 7, 1776), María Louisa Varela (Aug. 18, 1776). Two persons died: Juan Salvio Pacheco (Jan. 2, 1777) and the Varela infant (Mar. 31, 1777). The two women who had married each gave birth to a girl in 1777 but one of the babies died. At least one of the padres' servants was a Carmeleño.

61.

Bolton's translation of the *Noticias* (IV, p. 140) says that Father Nocedal remained alone at San Carlos. This is evidently wrong, for the priest was on the frigate, *San Carlos*, when it reached San Francisco and was still aboard when it left that port for San Blas Oct. 21.

62.

Baptism 550 is the only reference to the Ensen fracas. It merely says that a woman whose husband has been killed by the soldiers in Ensen in 1776 came with her child to the mission. For the attack

scare see Palou-James, *o.c.*, pp. 314 ss; Serra-Noriega *Informe*, p. 6.
63.

For notes on the sheep and goats: Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 245; *San Diego Mission*, p. 299, and *Missions and Missionaries*, II, p. 221. For the thatched cells see Palou-James, *l.c.*

64.

Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 161, and *Monterey Death Records*.

65.

This monstrance is of semibaroque design, and the entire sunburst is removable instead of just a glass enclosed lunette. It has been in Monterey since the first abandonment of the Carmel Church. Mr. Harry Downie is of the opinion that the Mission Dolores monstrance is that which served Carmel prior to 1777; this, because it is of the same design as Carmel's best chalice.

66.

Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, p. 221.

67.

Serra-Noriega *Informe*, p. 6. When the Franciscans went first to Lower California they learned from the Jesuit files that these latter fathers had received the power of confirming. This encouraged them to seek the same faculty. The Pope granted the request in the brief, *Cum Plura Hominum*, dated July 8, 1774. The quotation is a translation from the original in Father Serra's handwriting. It serves as the introduction to confirmation entries 2 to 91 in the *San Carlos Confirmation Records*. Entry 1 records the confirmation of Juan Evangelista at Mexico City; entry 15 lists Pedro. The *mestizos* were children of the soldiers: Yorba, Arús, and Butron; the whites, youngsters of Justo Nazario Saëz. One of the latter was born in Mexico, the other at Monterey. The total, one hundred eighty-three, does not agree with Bancroft or Father Serra's own record, but the padre misnumbered three entries and Bancroft includes the Carmeleño confirmed in Mexico City.

In July, '77, Neve completed the presidio wall. It was of stone, four feet thick, twelve feet high, and five hundred and thirty-two yards in circumference. Inside were ten adobe houses, each 21' x 24'; and a barracks not yet finished, 18' x 136'. Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 321. The viceroy seems to have suggested that the soldiers begin to plant so that the presidio would be independent of Mexican supply, but Neve reported that there was no good land in the vicinity. He had wanted to move the presidio to the Salinas Valley but the king would not hear of this. Spain considered abandonment of the port a strategic mistake. There is no indication that the Monterey church was improved at this time; *o.c.*, I, p. 311, n. 38. In October word came that Neve was made a colonel; *o.c.*, I, p. 319.

No private persons except one ex-soldier (no doubt Manuel Butron) had taken up the cultivation of land. This soldier had received from Rivera a plot of ground near Carmel Mission. He is the earliest recorded private landholder, though not an owner; *o.c.*, I, p. 311, n. 38.

68.

Apart from the fact that the *Baptismal Records* note very few adult converts from Carmel Valley after 1778, Father Serra in confirmation 2 speaks as though the conquest was considered complete and the valley *rancherias* Christian. The sacramental registers list the following *rancherias* as dwelling places of Christian natives:

Achasta, alias San Carlos (at the mission); Tucutnut, alias Santa Teresa (on the bank of the Carmel about one league—two and six-tenths miles—from the mission); Ichxenta, alias San José (apparently between Tucutnut and Socorronda); Socorronda, alias San Miguel (about seven leagues—eighteen miles—to the east of the mission in the Santa Lucia Mountains; baptism 384); Echilat, alias San Francisco (in the Santa Lucia Mountains. Kroeber in the *Handbook of California Indians*, p. 545, puts it twelve miles south-east of the mission, but erroneously thinks it an Excelen village). Father Engelhardt in *San Carlos Mission*, p. 92, says that these places are first mentioned in 1781. This is inaccurate. They are all mentioned in the Carmel books by both Indian and Christian names prior to 1776. Rumsen is first mentioned in 1790 in marriage 399; cf. also deaths 938, 1078, 1097, 1474. Socorronda had vanished by 1790, and Rumsen had no doubt been founded near its site; hence, the transfer of the Christian names. The same thing happened with Achasta and the mission *rancheria*. For the matter in the last two paragraphs of this section see baptisms 501, 520, 534, 535, 628, 640 (and other 1776 entries); confirmations 2 and 103 where it says specifically that Riera was "interpreter of the mission." Aug. 9, 1778, Bernardo Curteto of Genoa, a sailor from the *Santiago*, was confirmed. He is the first Italian noted at Monterey. Cf. also Serra-Noriega *Informe*, p. 5.

69.

Confirmation 266; Engelhardt, *San Diego Mission*, pp. 96 ss.

70.

Baltazar had been married July 12, 1779. A former wife had died. Baptism 268; marriages 35, 143; death 179. The record of his incestuous child is baptism 590.

That Father Serra continued to confirm is clear evidence that he was certain of his ground both ecclesiastically and civilly; the former, for without papal authority the ceremony would have been invalid, and the latter, for otherwise he stood to get both himself and his superiors in serious trouble with the State. For the history, doc-

trine, and law on the extraordinary faculty see Coleman, *The Minister of Confirmation*, Catholic University of America, *Canon Law Studies*, no. 125 (1941).

71.

"Ibera" for Loëra in Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 328, results from a faulty manuscript. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 175, says that the votive Mass was in honor of the Immaculate Conception. Among those confirmed was Vicente Tallado, the first Filipino recorded as having set foot on Monterey soil. The *Santiago's* physician is listed as Don Gervasio Sánchez in the confirmation record for this date. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 175; confirmations for Aug. 8 and 10, 1779.

The chaplains on the *Princesa* were the Fernandinos, Fathers Rio-boo and Noriega. The latter stayed in California, and after Father Crespi's death served at Monterey. The chaplain of the *Favorita* was Don Cristóbal Díaz, a diocesan priest from Lima; Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 177, 185-187; Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 85; *Monterey Confirmations*, pp. 16f-17f. It was in this war that Spain aided in the struggle of the Atlantic colonies against England.

72.

Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 185, 192; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 330; *Carmel Inventories*, p. 14; deaths 129, 130, 161; Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 87.

73.

José Espinosa was born in Mexico, the son of Cayetano, deceased, and Serafina de Lugo, who dwelt in Monterey; marriages 154, 197; baptism 637; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 363 and n. 14; deaths 186, 202; Espinosa's son by this marriage died in Jan., '81, and Serafina, the man's mother, was buried in March.

74.

Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, pp. 331 ss; Father Cambón, who soon recovered, went as chaplain of the *Princesa* to Manila. On his return to San Diego he sent news of the coming missionaries from aboard the *San Carlos El Filipino*. The old *San Carlos* never returned. Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 352; V, p. 756; Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 193; *Carmel Inventories*, pp. 15f, 16, 16f; Serra-Noriega *Informe*, pp. 6, 7.

75.

Carmel Inventories, pp. 15f, 16; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 351; *Carmel Confirmations*, p. 21; Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 193. Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 90, says the Santa Clara cornerstone was laid the nineteenth. This was a Monday. At any rate, whether the ceremony was the eighteenth or the nineteenth, Father Serra certainly set out for Monterey on Nov. 19. *San Carlos Confirmations*, entry for Nov. 18, 1781, p. 22 ss.

76.

Palou-James, *o.c.*, p. 229.

77.

Deaths, ad diem; Bancroft, *o.c.*, IV, p. 703.

78.

Sacramental records for 1782 ss, especially baptism 605; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, pp. 359, 360.

79.

Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, pp. 90, 91; *San Carlos Inventories* for 1782; Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 193.

80.

Engelhardt, *l.c.*, Vancouver *Voyages*, II, p. 10.

CHAPTER VII

81.

Father did not use the name Noriega for his signature, at least the Carmel entries invariably omit it. Writers, however, always use it for convenience. For Vallejo see *Carmel Inventories*, p. 16; Baptism for Aug. 19, 1782, marriage 191, and Serra-Noriega *Informe*, p. 7. Jan. 28, 1782, the presidio storekeeper, Ensign Don Mariano Carrillo, was buried in the Monterey chapel. Death 252. For the rest see Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 194, 210-213; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 373, 377, 378; *Carmel Confirmations*, pp. 22, 23, 24; baptism 678 signed June 9 by Father Cavaller; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, pp. 355, 370.

82.

Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 370. The offensive law is Title XV of the *Regulations for the Californias* prepared under royal order by Neve, passed by de Croix, and on Oct. 24, 1781, approved by the king. Grabhorn Press, 1929 Edition or *Land of Sunshine*, VI. Documents showing how the Fernandinos interpreted the motives and meaning of the Title are translated in Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, pp. 371 ss. For the king's repeal of the items which offended the padres see *o.c.*, p. 427. See also Appendix 9. The chaplains were diocesan priests of Guadalajara. Father Palou writes *Villaverde*; Father Serra, *Valverde*. The foreign visitors were: French, Joseph Meu and Pierre Roy; Chinese-Filipino, Juan Gallardo. The word *Chino* can also mean a three-quarter Indian and one-quarter Negro. Several Filipinos were confirmed the same day. Confirmations 457-491; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 382.

83.

Carmel baptisms 681 ss, 691, 738; Father Noriega and an interpreter visited Jojopan as noted in the death record for Nov. 21, 1782. Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 405, n. 28.

84.

Carmel deaths, ad annum. On Nov. 21 Felis Juan, alias El Ranchero, *fiscal* of Carmel church, died. In baptism 750 Father Serra chooses the name María Buen Año and remarks that under this title is the Blessed Virgin invoked in his *amada patria*. The *patria*, of course, is Mallorca, not Spain. Baptism 741 is a single woman, aged twenty, an orphan since infancy raised by her maternal uncle, Tuchepe of Jojopan. She had no left arm. A bear had devoured it when she was a baby. The reason for the statement that the wandering neophytes did not return till after the harvest is that those who had not been confirmed before begin to appear for that sacrament only in Feb., 1783. Carmel confirmations 566-611.

85.

Fages took office Sept. 10, 1773; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 384. Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 107; Bolton, *Anza*, IV, pp. 313 ss; Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 222-224, 334 ss, 371, 378 ss.

86.

Carmel baptisms and confirmations, ad annum, especially baptisms 434, 435, 773, 790, 806, 835, 836, 890, and 896, (the chief was baptized Dec. 7, 1783), confirmation 655. The first Kalenda Ruc Christian was named Primitivo (baptism 856). In this same year a native of the Rancheria Mutsun, "near the Pajaro and on the road to Santa Clara," was baptized (baptism 870, confirmation 744). For Indians who deliberately abandoned the mission for a time see Carmel baptisms 603, 605, 614, 631, 632, 642, 652, 679. The rest of the information in the paragraph is based on a comparison between the names found in the *Baptismal Register* and those occurring in the *Confirmation Book* for these years. There were fourteen other Indians baptized whom Father Serra did not confirm, but they were married to confirmed Indians. *Carmel Inventories*, p. 13, for the years 1782-1785, and Carmel deaths, ad annos, Serra-Noriega *Informe*, p. 7.

87.

Miguel Berardo and José María functioned as sacristans; confirmations for Mar. 6 and Apr. 1, 1782. The choir is noted at Father Serra's obsequies. Jacinta, Romualda, and María Antonia were interpreters. They resided at the mission; baptisms 859, 891, 894. For the men see baptisms 803, 827; confirmations 652, 852; death 255, and *Taylor Documents* (San Francisco Archives), I, p. 63. For the officials see Carmel baptism 586b; confirmation 651; death 424; *Soledad Baptismal Register*, first pages; for the *ladinos*, marriages and confirmations for June 12 and Dec. 29, 1783. For the rest see *Carmel Inventories*, pp. 16 ss; Serra-Noriega *Informe*, pp. 7, 9; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 104.

88.

Carmel Inventories, p. 17. Among the baptisms for 1783-1784 are the following: An Indian old maid (591), prostitute (845, but cf. 430), two women who had abandoned their husbands (853, and confirmation 706), a man who had had two sisters to wife (905), the centenarian who remembered the China ships (833), one of the only two blind Indians ever mentioned at Monterey (928, confirmation 746, Mrs. Bartlett in *Mistress of Monterey*, p. 19, notwithstanding).

The wife of Chinpula came with her husband to the mission. She became a catechumen. When Chinpula saw that he could not dissuade her from baptism, he beat her in his hatred for the faith and left her covered with blood. Carmel baptism 987.

There had been some selling and buying in horses and mules between the padres and the soldiers. Father Serra gave a *pinta* filly to Margarita, Carmel Indian wife of Manuel *Tio* Butron. The nickname *uncle*, this gift, and many other little incidents indicate that Father Serra and the other priests were very fond of Manuel Butron, and he of them. After Father Serra's death he moved to San José. *Carmel Inventories*, pp. 11 ss, Serra-Noriega *Informe*, p. 7, 9. 89.

Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 197, 225 ss; Carmel baptism 808; confirmations, ad diem; also entry 687 and pp. 33f-36. Page 35 is missing from the *Confirmation Book*. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, p. 398.

90.

Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 224; Carmel confirmation 767.

91.

Carmel Confirmations, pp. 44f-45f, 46f. Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 93; Duff-Gordon, *The Story of Assisi*, pp. 123 ss.

92.

Some of Father Serra's actions and remarks in '83 and '84 are no doubt to be explained by the fact that his power to confirm was drawing to an end. Others would indicate that his calling of the padres to Carmel was to consult them on matters brought to his attention in the mail of '84. Father Palou insists that his superior felt the end approaching and so called himself and the others; yet there are Father Palou's letters in Palou-Bolton (*o.c.*, IV, pp. 354 ss, 362 ss) which indicate that Father Serra did not suspect his end was so close. Evidently, therefore, Father Palou passed the personal judgment that his friend concealed the real motive for calling him.

93.

Carmel burial 381; Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 348-370. Palou-James, *Vida*, pp. 266 ss. The Carmel entry and all other information on Father Serra's last days, his death, and his burial were writ-

ten by Father Palou. All the intimate details will be found in the foregoing references.

94.

Catechism of the Council of Trent, Part II, Chap. IV, QQ. LVIII-LX. La Pérouse (*Voyage*, II, p. 307) says in 1786 that a very small number were admitted to Communion, and Father Lasuén (Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, p. 449) in his report for 1789 says most adults confess once a year, many receive Holy Communion, some receive the sacraments twice or thrice a year. Serra-Noriega *Informe*, pp. 8, 10.

95.

The judgment of Father Serra's character may be materially changed when an edition of all his letters permits us to see him through his own hand, rather than, as is the case now, when we look at him largely through Father Palou's eyes.

96.

Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 370; Carmel baptisms Sept. 6, 1784 to Apr. 29, 1785. Father Paterna was not appointed assistant at Carmel and always baptized with the specific permissions of Father Noriega. *Carmel Inventories*, pp. 9, 14; marriage 281. Bancroft (*o.c.*, I, p. 444) notes that the *Princesa* reached California this year via Manila. She may have stopped only at San Francisco which could account for Father Palou having sent to Mexico the letter dated Dec. 9, 1784, and referred to in Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 374. The Jojopan chief was christened Aristeo José Sal. A third wife had been baptized on her deathbed in Dec., '84, and children of his principal wife already in 1782. Chilichón was aged then forty-five; his principal wife, twenty-eight; the younger, eighteen; the eldest son, twenty. Carmel baptisms 691, 696, 712, 739, 1038, 1065, 1070, 1073, 1080, 1089; deaths 394, 518, and marriage 293. Baptisms 1059 and 1093 say Mutsun is at the place called Pajaro in the hills of Natividad near the Arroyo del Pajaro. For the others see baptisms 1136, 1145, 1160.

97.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 391-393, 454, 482, n. 1; Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 379; Carmel baptisms 1065 ss; Chapman, *History of California*, p. 398-400. For new matter see baptism 1217 and death 501.

98.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 400, n. 19; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, Sec. II, Chap. 1.

99.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 403, n. 25, 405; *Carmel Inventories*, p. 18. The rains were excessive in 1785; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 449, n. 41. For the charges and countercharges see Engelhardt, *l.c.*

100.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 442, especially n. 25; *Carmel Inventories*, pp. 9, 14, 14f; Carmel marriage 278 (error in original for 268); death 466.

101.

The cold of 1787 is noted in death 546. Other entries confirm Father Lasuén's 1790 statement, "the sick show much concern to confess even when far from the mission, and many pagans living free from the mission, being sick, send for the padre and ask for baptism." Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 448; death 461.

102.

Father Palou's last San Francisco entry is July 25; Father Giribet's first, Sept. 10; Engelhardt, *Mission San Francisco*, p. 369; Father Mariner's first Carmel entry is Sept. 4; Father Paterna's last Carmel entry, Apr. 28. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 374, 375. Father Palou seems already in Mexico Dec. 7, '85. Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 377. Bancroft (*o.c.*, I, p. 455) says that Father Lasuén went to Monterey in Nov., '85. Engelhardt (*San Carlos Mission*, p. 106) says that Father Palou served there August-September, '85. I have not come across substantiation for either statement, except that we take Father Lasuén's words, "Palou left California before the eyes of Fages," to mean that all three persons were in Monterey together. Then, too, we have Fages' complaint that Father Noriega in Father Palou's presence ridiculed the governor with foot stamping and something like cat calls—this at Carmel apparently in '85. Richman, *o.c.*, pp. 149, 445, n. 18; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 399, n. 17. Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, p. 423. Father Lasuén's first baptism at Carmel is dated Jan. 22, 1786. Chapman, *o.c.*, pp. 373, 381.

103.

Engelhardt, (*o.c.*, II, p. 676) states that these vessels left France without chaplains. This is contradicted by the official account of the voyage. Milet-Mureau, *Voyage de La Pérouse*, Paris, 1798, I, pp. 264, 268, and by a remark in Carmel Library, *Book No. III/75*, quoted below in note 106.

Fathers Arroita, Arenaza, and Oramas were at Carmel; baptisms 523, 524, and Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 434. The matter about this expedition is from the records of La Pérouse, Rollin, and Lamanon as published by Milet-Mureau, *o.c.*, I, II, and IV. For date of visit see Richman, *o.c.*, p. 164.

104.

Patent of Oct. 1, 1806, supplementing that of Feb. 7, 1775, copied in *Carmel Libro de Patentes*, pp. 22 ss.

105.

Rollin did show some Indians how to bandage some types of hernia,

but admits that they were not impressed.

The health and material well-being of men should not be the problem of the Church but of the State. None the less, because the State has either neglected it or encroached on personal liberty of the spiritual field in solving it, the Church has in all times and places been forced to interest herself in such matters. Insofar as the care of the poor is a corporal work of mercy, it is the affair of the Church. There is here a distinction between prevention and cure. La Pérouse' statement, that the Indians considered the padres in direct communication with the divinity, is so absurd both in the light of the Indian catechisms and California Indian mentality that it hardly merits mention.

106.

Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery*, II, p. 36. On the flyleaf of Carmel Library, Book No. III/75, (Collet, *Institutiones Theologiae Morales*, Lugduni, 1768, three volumes) we read: "Viva Jesus: El R. P. Franciscano, Capellan de la Expedicion Francesa, destinada a dar vuelta al globo, dio este y los otros dos tomos de Moral del mismo autor. Fr. Fermín F'co de Lasuén." For details on the tradition of the picture see Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 432, n. 11; for the rest, *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, XV, pp. 213-214.

107.

Dávila and his wife ceased to be godparents at Carmel about the time of the arrival of the '79 transport. For the rest see Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 397, n. 15, 468, n. 40.

108.

Ogden, *The California Sea Otter Trade, 1784-1848*, pp. 15-24, 155, 156; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 438-443.

109.

Carmel sacramental registers, ad annos; also death 522, 546; Ogden, *o.c.*, p. 155; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, pp. 423, n. 18, 434, 435; Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, p. 380; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 423; Chapman, *o.c.*, p. 371. *Carmel Inventories*, p. 18. Fathers José Seán, Diego García, and José Calzada arrived in 1787. Father Noriega's last Carmel entry is dated Sept. 19; Father Seán's first, Oct. 17. Carmel baptisms 1305, 1310.

CHAPTER VIII

110.

Carmel baptisms 1413, 1431 ss. Just when Señor Vicente took over is uncertain. It may have been that the padres handled matters themselves in 1788. The steward was certainly in charge not later than mid-year 1789.

Father Noriega says that six hundred and eighty-seven *fanegas* of grain were about a six months' supply when there were about that

number of natives residing at the mission. *Carmel Inventories*, p. 18; Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, pp. 243, 244; for the 1797 figures compare Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 686, n. 19 with Engelhardt, *l.c.* The neophytes always supplemented the mission food with fish, seeds, and domestic fowl. Señán, *Respuesta in Catholic Historical Review*, V., p. 61, no. 17.

111.

Baptisms 1317 ss and 1403 ss, and San Antonio baptisms for the years 1787 ss; deaths for the years in question; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, pp. 448, 449; marriage 392; Chapman, *o.c.*, pp. 373, 374, 377. The father president left Carmel late in '87 and was present at the founding of La Purísima Mission, Dec. 8. His name does not appear again in the Carmel records till Aug., '88.

112.

Greenhow, *History of Oregon and California*, p. 186; Ogden, *o.c.*, p. 156. Aug, 25 Don José María Díaz was the first diocesan priest to baptize in Carmel; baptism 1432. Hittell, *History of California*, I, p. 538. His reference is to documents in the California Archives, since destroyed. Bancroft has it that the fire damage was nearly all repaired by the end of 1790; *o.c.*, I, p. 468, n. 41. The correction of Hittell on the information about the presidio chapel is made from documents encountered in Mexico in 1945 by Father Geiger, O.F.M. Photostats are in the Santa Barbara Mission and Monterey-Fresno Diocesan Archives. The San Carlos Academy was an art school and museum founded in 1773. It still exists. *Overland Monthly*, I, p. 118; *Baedeker's United States*, p. 653; Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man*, p. 160.

113.

Carmel deaths 684-739.

114.

Carmel Confirmations, pp. 47 ss. The document specifying Father Lasuén for the exercise of the power in California is dated Mar. 13, '87. The priests present were Fathers Arenaza, Cambón, Solá, Peña, Calzada, and the newcomers Rubí, Dantí, Miguel, and Tapis, all Franciscans. The name of the chaplain of the bark is not given.

115.

Carmel baptisms 1514, 1524, 1527; confirmations 1048, 1194, 1210-13, 1220-32, 1236; Santa Cruz baptism 11; Greenhow, *o.c.*, pp. 192, 220; Ogden, *o.c.*, pp. 155, 156; Don Juan Martínez, commander of the 1789 Nootka expedition, was a passenger on the *Aranzazu*. The Nootkan child had no doubt been on the ship since the previous year. He was still aboard when it returned to Monterey in 1791. The *Real Princesa*, a bilander, had been seized from the English off Vancouver Island in 1789. She is not to be con-

founded with the frigate, *La Princesa*, alias *N.S. del Rosario*, which with the *San Carlos*, *Favorita*, and *Aranzazu* was a west coast supply ship. For the Catalonian Volunteers see Chapman, *o.c.*, p. 400; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 540, 541; Carmel marriages 406-422.

116.

Carmel deaths 796, 804; confirmations 1270-72, 1287, 1313, 1319. This is the Rev. Alexander Jordan who was interested in founding a Spanish colony. He resided in California eight months according to Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 503, n. 8. For the rest see Monterey baptisms 1338, 1339, 1662-79; death 822; confirmations 1379-1403; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 485, n. 6, 490, 491, 493, n. 25; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 440; Chapman, *o.c.*, p. 404; Richman, *o.c.*, p. 165. To be more exact some of the children confirmed Nov. 14 were from San Lorenzo de Nootka, others from the shores of Juan de Fuca Strait, and two from the port of Clayoquot.

117.

Monterey death 833; *Taylor Documents*, I, item 63:2-10; Monterey baptisms 61, 98, 459, 657, 818, 863.

118.

Luis Peralta was corporal of the Santa Cruz guard. The names of eight soldiers and seven ex-sailors appear in the *Santa Cruz Baptismal Register*; Chapman, *o.c.*, p. 371; Hittell, *o.c.*, I, pp. 461, 466; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 492, 493; Soledad baptisms note *padrinos* for the years 1791-1793.

119.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 485 ss; Richman, *o.c.*, p. 154; Carmel death 899; confirmations 1415, 1416; baptism 1789. Father Lasuén excused himself from paying a six per cent income tax on the plea that what the padres had came from the king anyway and moreover was in kind not in cash; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, pp. 461 ss.

120.

Monterey deaths 789, 995; marriage 422; births 1791, 1792.

121.

Confirmations July 22-Sept. 22, '92; also Nov. 25, '92; baptisms 1796, 1804, 1808; death 896; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 506, n. 11, 506-511; *Revilla Gigedo Report in Land of Sunshine*, XI, nos. 3 and 4.

122.

Vancouver, *o.c.*, II, pp. 10, 35; Carmel marriage, 469; baptism 1823. This entry reads: "Día 2 Febrero (1793) . . . habiendo por la mañana bendicido la nueva Iglesia de esta Mision de San Carlos, y cantado en ella la primera Misa, bautize solemnamente por la tarde, etc . . . (signed) Fr. José Seán." Marriages July 27, '96 to Sept. 6, '96; death 1195. This church was the one in use when Father López was buried. There need be nothing strange in the idea

of building one church over another. It must be remembered that mission churches were actually cemeteries, and were a new church built elsewhere the abandoned space could not be diverted to profane uses. The fact that the cemetery was used for services for a while has no other explanation. The present Santa Fe Cathedral "was built around a smaller church which was then torn down." *Records Amer. Cath. Hist. Soc.*, V, 96. Rev. Eric O'Brien, O.F.M., says that a tradition exists that the present church was built around an older one. Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 687, n. 20. Spence's views are valueless. He was not in California then. Mr. Harry Downie has unearthed tile kilns to the southwest of the present church. He thinks that what seem to be pillars and a church wall in the Sykes' picture are kiln chimneys and the wall around the tile yard.

123.

Vancouver, *o.c.*, II, pp. 147, 248, 439, 472; Bancroft, *o.c.*, pp. 512, n. 21, 513. It is possible that Vancouver had not yet got word of this Relief Act. Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 113; id., *San Juan Bautista Mission*, p. 42; Smith, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 28, n. 20.

124.

Engelhardt, *o.c.*, p. 113; Hittell, *o.c.*, I, p. 539; Carmel marriages 485, 489; *Taylor Documents*, I, 38. Other artisans at Monterey-Carmel in 1792 were: Gonzáles, Cisneros, and Martínez, carpenters; confirmations 1513, 1514, 1568, 1570; marriages 519, 520; baptisms 2024, 2031, 2042. Smith, *o.c.*, p. 24, especially n. 17; Chapman, *o.c.*, pp. 374, 392.

125.

Taylor Documents, I, 68; Monterey deaths 1007, 1014, 1055, etc. Bancroft's note (*o.c.*, I, p. 598) that the presidio had no cemetery is contradicted by the *Death Register*, but understood to mean no enclosed graveyard he is probably correct. "Se hizo un cementerio" (at Carmel) says the *1800 Annual Report*. Carmen (Albisu?) del Valle, whom Father Señán would not bury in the presidio chapel, he buried in Carmel Mission (death 774; Bancroft, *l.c.*, n. 35)

126.

Ogden, *o.c.*, p. 156; Bancroft, *o.c.*, pp. 515, n. 27, 517, n. 30, 525; confirmations for Sept. 13, 14, 21, 1793; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, pp. 441, 486.

127.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, pp. 523-526; Carmel confirmations 1714 ss, 1759, 1785; baptisms 1973, 1974, 1998.

128.

Hittell, *o.c.*, I, pp. 550, 570, 572; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, pp. 457, 464, 467; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 536, n. 17, 583 and n. 16; Richman, *o.c.*, p. 169. Freewill gifts to the church were probably not frequent at

this time. A canon of Pueblo left by will five hundred dollars in 1793. Carmel's share was thirty-seven dollars. Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 595, n. 32. On Jan. 15, 1794, the layfolk of San Francisco and Monterey sent one hundred and fifty-four dollars to aid some Capuchin nuns in Granada. Engelhardt, *o.c.*, I, p. 468.

129.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 503, n. 7, 548, n. 47, 683, n. 14; Hittell, *o.c.*, I, p. 552. The acting governor opened a new road with a ford at the Pajaro in 1794. In this same year, a law of 1791 declaring the presidios *pueblos* (towns) became effective. Chapman, *o.c.*, p. 389; Carmel marriages 416, 490, 509, 514, 517; baptism 2080. Rafael Villavicencio is noted as a retired soldier at the presidio in 1796; baptisms 2100, 2290.

130.

Borica had taken office at Loreto May 14, 1794. The family was well supplied with servants. There are listed the following: valet, maid, cook, and colored page. Hittell gives the following names: Sr. Andrés and Sra. Narcisa; Richman calls the valet, Narciso, and the cook, Juan José; Carmel registers list the following: Juan José García, José Aguirre, Narcisa de Ribero. Francisco Nieves and José Antonio Uribe, who first appear in the books at this time, may be other servants. Chapman, *o.c.*, p. 408; Richman, *o.c.*, p. 169; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 525, 533; Hittell, *o.c.*, I, p. 559; Carmel confirmations 1788-1790.

131.

Carmel confirmation 1803; Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, pp. 114, 115; Carmel baptism 2016 translated reads in part: "Feb. 10, 1795, in the new church of the Royal Monterey Presidio, in that which after having blessed it I celebrated solemnly the first Mass the twenty-fifth day of last January, I baptized today, etc. (signed) Fr. Fermín Fran'co Lasuén."

132.

Carmel marriages (for the interpreters) 481 to 507; baptisms (for the weaver) 2033; (for the chiefs) 1137, 1279, 1871, 1916, 1917, 1920, 1930, 1952, 1967. Jutis of Exceles lives at the mission and is not called a chief in baptism 2067.

133.

Carmel Confirmations, pp. 91, 92; Father Lasuén asked for renewal of the confirmation faculty but the matter seems not to have been pressed; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, p. 596; for later moves see Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, p. 411. The bishop of Sonora is not to be held blameless. The whites were his subjects.

134.

Richman, *o.c.*, p. 170, 187; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 527-529.

135.

1795 Annual Report; Carmel Baptisms, Confirmations, Deaths and Marriages; Bancroft, *MS. on Monterey Census*. This latter is not accurate but likely close enough. It deals only with non-Indians and Indians living at Monterey. Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 614, n. 27.

136.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 534, n. 21; II, pp. 490, 576. Carmel baptism 2079. Although the *1795 Annual Report* specifies that Father Lasuén is in charge, Fathers Arenaza and Jayme sign most of the entries in the books. Confirmations 1774, 1785, 1791-1799. José Cañizares, the California pioneer, was a pilot with the rating of frigate commander on this trip of the *Princesa*; Carmel baptisms 2034-2055, 2088, 2121; death 1067; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 524, 576, n. 2. Seventy-two Catalonian Volunteers under Alberni, seventeen or eighteen artillerymen, and three armorers, as well as some soldiers from Nootka, swelled the population of the state's *gente de razón*; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 524, 535.

CHAPTER IX

137.

Carmel baptisms, *Informes and Biennial Reports, 1795-1801*; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 540, n. 27, 576, n. 2, 685, n. 2, 686; II, pp. 146, 147, 153. Father Amorós says that Father Payeras was in charge at Carmel in Jan., 1798. *Carmel Deaths*, note after entry 1346.

138.

About one hundred head of cattle gave San Juan Bautista Mission its start. Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 620, 623, n. 45, 686, n. 19; Hittell, *o.c.*, I, p. 587; Engelhardt, *Mission San Carlos*, p. 244. Carmel did not suffer in the drought of 1800; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 686, n. 19. For troubles with bears and other wild beasts in 1805 see Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, p. 143.

139.

Monterey baptisms for the years 1796 ss; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, p. 148.

140.

Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, pp. 467, 472-475, 535-539; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 580, 614, 615, 616, n. 30, 617, n. 31, 643, 684, n. 15, 687, n. 20. Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 116. The presidio had a soap factory at the King's Ranch. After 1798 no soap came from Mexico. Weaving was tried without success. Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 618, 618, n. 33. At Carmel they wove hemp for Indian clothes in 1800 ss; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 621, n. 42. When the Indians worked legitimately for outsiders on mission time, their wages went into the community treasury. The names of the following Indians who were busy around the mission have survived: Guido, the carpenter (marriage 707), Misael, José Maria, and Maximiano Sulol, interpreters—the last named was also sacristan for many years

(baptisms 2562, 2703, marriage 705)—and Florencio, the *vaquero* (baptism 2546). This was in the first decade of the 19th century.

141.

Bancroft (*o.c.*, I, p. 561) says that Father Horra left California in Sept. 1797, on the *Concepción* or the *Princesa*. In n. 36, p. 544, he says the former bark left Monterey Sept. 4, and San Diego with the *Princesa* Nov. 8. The *Princesa* seems not to have been at Monterey this year. I presume the given sailing date of the *Concepción* to be in error, for otherwise Fathers Horra and Arenaza would have had to go overland to meet the bark in San Diego, an unlikely thing, as one was of unbalanced mind and the other ill. Smith, *The Architectural History of Mission San Carlos Borromeo*, p. 24; Older, *California Missions and Their Romances*, p. 32; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 687, n. 20; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, p. 116. The earth shocks were from Oct. 11 to 31, 1800. Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 558; *Informes*, 1796-1800.

142.

Engelhardt, *o.c.*, p. 117; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 681; II, pp. 143, 144 (n. 45, 46), 175; Hittell, *o.c.*, I, p. 610.

143.

Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, pp. 539-541; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 542; II, pp. 6, 7 (especially n. 10), 147, n. 56, 281, n. 45, 384. For the Spanish wars see *o.c.*, I, p. 546, n. 45; II, p. 5, n. 7; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 650; Richman, *o.c.*, p. 170. For the Catalonian Volunteers and artillerymen see Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 540, 541, 544, n. 36; for the sailors and convicts, *id.*, I, pp. 544, 605, n. 1, 606, 678; for the population estimate, etc., *id.*, p. 677. The physician, Luis Paba, who examined Father Horra at Monterey in 1797, was more probably a naval surgeon from the *Concepción*. He is mentioned in Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 550. From Oct. 30 to Nov. 6, 1796, the *Otter*, a Boston ship, was at Monterey. Despite the Spanish kindness to her skipper, this gentleman did the only thing he was asked not to do, namely, he left behind ten men and one woman. These, however, were sent to Cadíz the next year. Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 539, 540, 618, n. 37; Ogden, *o.c.*, p. 157; for other vessels see Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 539, 542 ss.

144.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 551 ss; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, pp. 492 ss; *id.*, *Mission San Juan Bautista*, p. 4. The 1798 *Biennial Report* says that one Carmel woman was transferred to Soledad for a total loss by transfer of fifty Carmeleños.

145.

Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, pp. 249-256, 553-583.

146.

Smith, *o.c.*, p. 31.

147.

Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, p. 541; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 585; *Taylor Documents*, I, pp. 204, 215; baptism 1964 lists Silvestre José Chemolo as an *alcalde* at Carmel in 1794.

148.

Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, pp. 506, 509, 611; *Taylor Documents*, II, p. 190; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 549; death 1872.

149.

Hittell, *o.c.*, I, p. 604; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 730.

150.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, pp. 546, n. 44, 606; id., *History of Mexico*, III, pp. 377 ss; Carmel marriages 593, 594, 603, 605, 624, 843, 847; births 2636, 2791, 2991, 3026, 3122; death 2488. Archbishop Lorenzana was transferred to Spain and received there the cardinal's hat Mar. 30, 1789.

151.

Culleton, *California's First Library in Central California Register, Annual Review*, 1934.

152.

Bancroft, *History of California*, II, pp. 146-150 especially nn. 54 and 63.

153.

Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, pp. 507, 613; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, p. 152; *Biennial Reports* for 1804 and 1806; *Carmel Death Register*, ad annos. The neophyte, Mariana of San Luis Obispo, wife of Briones, the *mayordomo*, died in 1806; death 1733.

154.

Annual Informes, 1802, 1804, 1805; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 554, n. 36.

155.

Carmel death 1525; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, pp. 548, 596, 607; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 8 ss; Chapman, *o.c.*, p. 381. In 1809 Father Tapis was re-elected president. Sept. 17, 1804, he founded Santa Inez Mission.

156.

It is said that Father Viñals may have been minister, because though Father Carnicer buried Father Lasuén it was Father Viñals who notified the new president of the old one's death. It is said that he ceased to be minister in Sept., 1803, because on the thirteenth of the said month Father Carnicer signs a baptismal entry as "minister." Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, p. 147, n. 56.

157.

In 1801 or 1802 four Carmel neophytes were transferred to Soledad and five to San Juan Bautista; *Biennial Report*. In 1807 or before,

two Soledad neophytes were sent to Monterey; Carmel marriage 728. The figure, fifteen hundred and twenty-three, does not include children born of Christians; baptisms 2534, 2575, 2655, 2665-2672, 2707-2711, 2720; marriages 693, 698, 738. Alaya, an Excelen, was mauled by a bear in the wilds. He was brought to the mission where *Mayordomo* Ortega baptized him May 27, 1806. He recovered.

158.

Thirty-three hundred and two horses were slaughtered at Monterey in 1810. In 1807 the crops were only sixty per cent normal, but reserves abounded. Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 7, 89, 146, 182; Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, pp. 168, 169, 244; Carmel baptisms 2469, 2534, 2536, 2541, 2542, 2550, 2563, 2582, 2704, 2921, 2966; death 2054. *Taylor Documents*, II, pp. 11-13, 14-18, deal with the efforts of San Carlos to get Buenavista or San Gerónimo.

159.

The Italian's name is given as Farnesio in Spanish documents. The real reason of his departure from China may have been the persecution then raging. *Franciscan Studies*, XXVI, p. 175 ss. The College of San Fernando had checked the California fathers in 1806 for such abuses as using silver watches and wearing shoes. Probably in his old age Father Lasuén had not bothered much about corrections. May 16, 1807, San Carlos was named retreat house for the padres of the Monterey military district. Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 31, n. 30, 147 (especially n. 56), 148; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, pp. 629-633; Carmel baptisms, marriages, and deaths, ad annos, especially baptism 2443, and marriage 680.

160.

Informes 1806, 1807, 1808; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, p. 146. The word taken to mean shrine is *collateral*. The *Biennial Report* of 1806 notes that a careful check of the neophytes showed that twenty-four had died in the wilds. Some were fugitives of past years, others children of pagans not yet old enough to come for instruction; that of 1808 says that three Carmel women with their four children were transferred to marry in other missions. For the location of the neophyte village see cut in Forbes, *California, A History* . . . p. 118. Leocadio Martínez was mission carpenter in these years; baptism 2557.

161.

In Aug., 1803, the American vessel, *Alexander*, called at Monterey for repairs and supplies. She was kindly received and aided, but slipped away in the night without paying her bill. There is some word of an expedition from Monterey into the Tulares in 1806 but no records. Hermenegildo Sal, who was in command at Monterey, died Dec. 10, 1800, and his house was burned, for he was tubercular. His successor, Lieutenant Colonel Pedro Alberni of the Cata-

Ionian Volunteers, followed him to the grave Mar. 11, 1802. Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 679, n. 4; II, pp. 5, 16, 141, n. 42, 144; Hittell, *o.c.*, I, pp. 609, 610; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, pp. 598, 624; deaths 1342 (an error in this entry makes Sal leave a widow. His wife had died Jan. 25, 1798; see note after death 1364), 1461. All three were buried in the Carmel church; marriage 718. For the physicians see Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 680; II, pp. 31, n. 30, 140; a daughter was born to Dr. Quijano and wife in Monterey, but the infant died; baptism 1720, death 1930; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, pp. 608, 609.

CHAPTER X

162.

Carmel parochial books; Bancroft, *o.c.*, III, pp. 688 ss, 715, 716. Fray Pedro Cabot enters records between Dec. 12, 1813 and Jan. 27, 1815, with a lapse between Jan. 2, 1813 and Jan. 9, 1814. He was likely an assistant during 1814.

163.

Oct. 10, 1814, news reached Monterey of the liberation and return to Spain of the Spanish king. This occasioned a great ringing of bells, illuminations, and the *Te Deum* at Carmel; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 88, 203, n. 12, 204-209, 397-400; Hittell, *o.c.*, I, pp. 628, 633-640; Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 139.

164.

For the Communion see the *Death Register* and the *Biennial Report* for 1818; Pastor: baptisms 2854, 2964, 3031, 3046, 3109, marriage 836; Maximiano: marriages 757 ss; carpenters: baptisms 2773, 2965, 3060, marriages 871, 876; Onésimo: marriage 871; smiths: baptisms 2801, 2886, 2905, 2918, 2972, 3133; Luis: baptisms 3027, 3111; Pacifico: death 2264; Antonio: baptism 3114; Domingo: baptisms 2921, 3074, 3152; Gerónimo (aged seventeen at death): death 2153 (he is listed as *paje y cantor*); Candido: death 1874; Pablo: baptism 3124; *vaqueros*: death 1874, baptism 3133; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, p. 405. There is a neophyte called Domingo *de Telares* in baptism 3101.

165.

Baptisms 2871, 2885, 2921, 3006, 3058, 3074, 3102, 3146, 3152; deaths 1801, 1860, 1929, 2087.

166.

Many of the *alcaldes* and *regidores* are listed in the *Taylor Documents*; see also baptisms 2848, 2958, 2997, 3075, 3133; marriage 809; the *adulterino* is baptism 2908. For the Spanish discussion of the natives' disappearance see Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, p. 250. Solá's remarks on venereal disease still seem not to apply to Monterey. Examples of neophyte transfers are found in baptisms 2740 s, 2946 s, 3099; marriages 820, 836, 851, 859, 871; deaths 1844, 1856,

2134, 2170, 2172. In 1814 Father Amorós wrote the treatise on Monterey Indians which has been used in Appendix 10.

167.

Baptisms 2791, 2880, 2959, 2966, 3003, 3076, 3097, 3108, 3119; marriages 799, 822, 856, 876; deaths 2054, 2129, 2138; Bancroft *o.c.*, IV, p. 781.

168.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 89, especially n. 20, 200; *Informes* 1809-1819; Berger, *The Franciscan Missions of California*, pp. 276, 280; The *Informe* reads: "they built the chapel *beside* the church and repaired the old walls"; for Payeras' *Report* of May 4, 1819, see Smith, *o.c.*, p. 31, n. 2.

169.

For the Hidalgo Revolt and subsequent disorders, as well as the effects in California, see Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 194-197, 203; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, pp. 650, 651; *Informes*, 1811-1819; The Hidalgo Revolt started Sept. 16, 1810, and was quelled in six months. The major guerrilla warfare ended Nov. 5, 1815, and all minor chiefs were put out of the way by 1817. It is presumed or claimed that the insurgent raids made the roads unsafe for the transmission of either cash or *memorias*. There were no serious raids after 1815 and none at all after 1817; still nothing was sent. For the unbranded cattle and the rest see Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 140; *Taylor Documents*, II, pp. 364, 365, 474-485; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 217, n. 32, 218, 414, 419, n. 14. Carmel Mission may have made no effort to increase its flocks, herds, or crops in these years. 1809 was a dry year and 1816-1817 excessively wet. This made no impression on the farm. 1814 was the only really poor year. On the average Father Amorós kept crops considerably above those of his successors. The cattle increase was less than a third, and the sheep decrease about forty per cent. In this regard we must contrast a decreasing neophyte population with increased neophyte efficiency, and we must remember that the soldiers stole much mission stock. 1816 *Informe*; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 49, 417.

170.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 88, 96, 199, 202, 203, 211, 222, 269; *Informes* 1812, 1814; Carmel baptisms 2783, 2890, 2912; death 2105. For the vessels, etc., after 1814 see Corney, *Voyages in the North Pacific* . . . , pp. 13, 17, 18, 32, 33, 43; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 204, 213-217, 251, 254, 272, n. 19, 273, and n. 24, 274, n. 29, 278, especially n. 39, 282-285, 291, 308, n. 29. The mission received some of the *Columbia's* merchandise as is noted in the 1815 *Informe*. Death 2157 (name spelt there "Everad"); baptisms 3011, 3012, 3069, 3142; marriage 844; Ogden, *o.c.*, pp. 166 ss; 1816, 1817 *Informes*.

In Engelhardt, *Mission San Juan Bautista*, p. 30, "Hermon" is no doubt an error for "Hermosa."

171.

Corney, *o.c.*, pp. 43, 44; Corney was with Bouchard in '18, but his description is from a previous visit; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 380, n. 25, 383, n. 31, 415, 416, 420; Carmel baptisms 2872, 2954, 2978, 2979, 3023, 3043, 3047, 3087; marriage 854; deaths 1495, 1972, 2195, 2225, 2241. The date after the name in the text is the year in which the record notes this residence. Previous entries either do not specify the residence or place it in the presidio. Boronda was in the presidio till 1818. "Cayuelas" is spelt "Cayuelos" in Bancroft.

172.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 380, n. 35, 381, 427-429; *Taylor Documents*, II, pp. 239, 240; baptisms 2825, 2929, 2955, 2989; marriages 771, 806, 812, 843, 844, 850, 857, 895, 897; deaths 2241, 2412, 2562. McKittrick, *Vallejo, Son of California*, pp. 1-11, unfortunately places implicit faith in Vallejo's manuscript history.

173.

Baptisms 2729, 2761, 2976, 3043, 3045. For what is probably the first wedding in a California home see marriage 857. The bride, María Josefa Boronda, daughter of the schoolmaster, was confined to her bed; for baptism by a midwife during a difficult delivery see baptism 2794 and death 1936. Several old timers died in this decade; v.g., death 2195, Felipe García, the smith, one of the *primeros conquistadores* of this province. Such entries suggest that some deference was paid the old timers. Note also death 2211.

174.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 204, 272, n. 19, 273, especially n. 24, 376, especially n. 35, 308, n. 29; Gilroy said he was born in what the padre understood as Sunderland; Malcolm, in Limmington; and Baldwin, in Islington, now a part of London; baptisms 2922, 2923, 2926, 2968, 2992, 3000, 3014; *Informe*, 1816; *Taylor Documents*, II, p. 353; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, p. 30.

175.

Baptisms 2812, 3128; deaths 1960, 1983.

176.

Baptisms 2920, 2951, 2982, 3125-27, 3142, 3149; death 2156; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 204, 326, n. 8, 329, n. 14, 335, 336. These expeditions to the Tulares have not yet been well studied. The only records of some of them will be found in the sacramental registers of the several missions. Father Martín's letter is published in the *Silver Jubilee Memorial* of the Bakersfield American Legion.

177.

Baptisms 2842, 2847, 2888, 3007; marriages 825, 853, 855; deaths

1876, 2113; *Informes* 1812, 1814, 1816, 1819.

178.

Baptisms 2943, 2983, 3092, 3120, 3135, 3136; marriages 861, 877; deaths 2092, 2277; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, p. 416; *Taylor Documents*, II, p. 356. Quintin Ortega resided on a *rancho* near San Juan Bautista (baptism 3097), and Raimondo Estrada and family on one between the said mission and San José (baptism 3071). These people were not subjects of the Carmel fathers; Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, p. 383.

179.

Joseph Chapman, an American, and two colored men known as Pascual and Fisher (or Norris), were those captured. They remained in the province. Bancroft, *o.c.*, II, pp. 211, 212, 220, 223-248, 257, 381, 386, n. 38, 417, n. 9; Hittell, *o.c.*, I, pp. 646, 650-654, 660; Corney, *o.c.*, pp. 119-138 especially pp. 121-123. Carmel baptism 3101; marriage 872.

180.

Baptisms 3124, 3134.

APPENDIX

181.

Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, II, p. 713; Wagner in *o.c.*, VII, pp. 269 ss.

182.

Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi*, p. 309; Ford, *Dawn and the Dons*, pp. 51-55; Wagner in *o.c.*, VII, p. 390; Bancroft, *History of California*, I, p. 169, n. 6; Older, *California Missions and Their Romance*, p. 40; Monsignor Mestres' testimony to the writer explains the differences in this version. *The Tidings*, Dec. 15, 1905, p. 9, says that the Celtic cross was set up by James A. Murray. It is silent about the tree being washed into the bay and speaks as though Mr. Green was attending to the preservation at that time.

183.

Engelhardt, *o.c.*, I, pp. 37 ss; Kelley, *History of the Diocese of California*, pp. 1 ss; Gasquet and Bishop, *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*; MacDevitt, *Are Anglican Orders Valid?*; Lee, *The Church Under Queen Elizabeth*; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, I, p. 492; XVI, p. 118; Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake*, pp. 282, 293, 347; Nuttall, *New Light on Drake*, p. 282.

184.

Engelhardt, *o.c.*, I, p. 65; Vancouver, *o.c.*, II, pp. 36, 37; Wagner in *The Quarterly*, VII, 35; Bolton, *Fray Juan Crespi*, p. 309.

185.

Chapman, *The Foundation of Spanish California*, pp. 98 ss; Chapman, *History of California*, p. 230; Palou-James, *Life of Junipero Serra*, pp. 86 ss.

186.

Palou-James, *o.c.*, Chap. 22; Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 186.

187.

Bancroft, *o.c.*, I, p. 175, n. 16; Fages-Priestley, *o.c.*, pp. 62, 63; baptisms 350, 540.

188.

Carmel baptism 302; *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XX, p. 235.

189.

Palou-Bolton, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 266 ss; Engelhardt, *o.c.*, II, pp. 391 ss; *Constitutiones Ord. Frat. Min.*, Title XI; Richman, *o.c.*, Chap. VIII, and notes.

190.

This sketch has been attempted by an amateur because the information is not available elsewhere in handy form. The source of each statement is not given, but unless otherwise noted all matter comes from one or other following authority:

A. The Vizcaino, Portolá, Fages, and Anza Expeditions' literature contains a few references to Monterey Indians.

B. The following 18th and early 19th century sources were used: Fages (Priestley, editor), *An Historical Description of California*, pp. 60-70; La Pérouse (Millet-Mureau, editor), *Voyage Autour du Monde*, II, pp. 279-317, 323-327; Rollin, *Memoire Physiologique et Pathologique sur les Americains* in La Pérouse, *o.c.*, IV, pp. 50-75; Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery*, Bk. III, Chap. II; Bk. IV, Chap. IX; [Navarrete, editor], *A Spanish Voyage to Vancouver . . .*, pp. 127-134; Amorós, *1814 Respuesta*, translated in Engelhardt, *Mission San Carlos*, pp. 120-134; Sarria-Abella, *Description of the Lands . . .*, translated in Engelhardt, *o.c.*, pp. 167-170; Parochial Registers of Missions San Carlos, San Antonio, Soledad, San Juan Bautista, and Santa Cruz.

The Huntington Library manuscript entitled *Descripcion de Monterey*, written by a visitor to Monterey on the 1790s, contains only one interesting observation. It says that when the Spaniards first came, the Indians thought the newcomers children of their animals because the animals carried the soldiers as an Indian mother would her child. For this reason, the Indians addressed and made signs to the horses and mules.

Duhaut-Cilly, Mofras, Colton, Alexander Taylor, and others from the years 1830-1870 have recorded impressions of the Monterey Indians, but it is almost impossible to extract what is primitively Montereyan from what was imported subsequent to Spanish occupation, or to know how much of what they say refers to Monterey rather than to other parts of California.

C. Nearly all that modern ethnologists have to say is in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*; Kroeber, *Handbook of California Indians* and Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*. This essay sometimes disagrees with these specialists, but they did not use all sources noted above.

D. In the matter of Monterey languages, apart from the articles by Kroeber in the *University of California, o.c.*, II, no. 2, there are in the Bancroft Library two vocabularies transcribed by Pinart, an employee of Bancroft, and a de la Cuesta manuscript. The latter contains a few Excelen words. Dr. John Harrington of the Smithsonian Institute has collected but not published some material on both Excelen and Rumsen. In the Monterey-Fresno Diocesan Library there is one manuscript prayer in Rumsen, one manuscript fragment containing a couple of the questions and answers from the Excelen catechism, and a second fragment with a few Rumsen words on one side and a couple in Excelen on the other.

The padres are of little help. They came as missionaries not ethnologists. Monterey had no Boscana or, if it did, he had no Robinson. The Indians, of course, were adverse to having their lands or customs investigated. Longinos Martínez, *California in 1792*, p. 53. In this they resemble other untutored people; e.g. Lane, *An Account of . . . the Modern Egyptians*, p. XII. It is doubtful that they knew the true reason for their observances. The original Spanish spelling has been used for Indian place and personal names.

191.

In one baptism there is mention of a Pagchin language. It is likely that known later as Mutsun. Baptism 1450 says that Mutsun and Pagchin were villages in Kalenda Ruc, but certainly Mutsun was not. Inter-marriage between Mutsuns and Paxines (as those of Pagchin are called in baptism 2536) are noted, but none between either and the people of Ensen or Kalenda Ruc. The adjective *paxines* may be a clue to the location. The modern post office, Paisines, is in or near ancient Mutsun territory. The name appears in the San Juan records but not in those of either Soledad or San Antonio (Baptism 8 of San Juan has *Passim* and baptism 880, *Paxines*). The name occurs only once in Santa Cruz under the form *Pajesin*; baptism 1810.

Excelen and Salinan are Hokan languages. There were ten such spoken in California in 1770, each very different from the other, and the speakers occupied widely separated regions, except in the case of the Excelens and Salinans, who were neighbors. Costanoan was a Penutian tongue of which there were five in 1770, all spoken by peoples who occupied contiguous territory. The Hokans came from the north about 1500 B.C. and were very likely the first men in California. The Penutians followed them and came also from the

Oregon country. It is likely that many centuries intervened between the two migrations. Other tribes from the north never got far into California.

The third great tribal migration came from the east with the ancestors of the Shoshoneans. It cut through the Hokans between Santa Barbara and San Diego, but did not swell farther up the coast. It was the only migration from the east. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*; University of California, Map Series, No. 11; id., *Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, XII, pp. 12 ss. The *Masterkey*, XXI, p. 24, puts Folsom men in various parts of California.

192.

The Excelen ending *an* or *nu* is no doubt equivalent to the Rumsen *ta* or *da* with the value "at the place of." *Ruc* added to a word means "dwellings"; *Kalenda-ruc*, "houses at the beach." In Rumsen words, the ending *n* may mean "people of," e.g., *Chalon*, "people of Chal"; *Chal-lom*, "man of Chal." The *Respuesta* translated in Engelhardt, *San Carlos Mission*, p. 168 ss, makes mention of the Ensen lands. It indicates at the same time that the Spaniards recognized Indian tribal lands and intended that these lands would serve the mission and its Indians till Christianization and civilization should be completed, and then that the Indians should have them back. Other masters and Indian deaths were to nullify the policy. Ensen usually goes under its Spanish name, Zanjones (ditches), referring to the clean cut natural canals which form in marsh lands.

The Monterey registers do not locate Guaccheron further than to say it was in Kalenda Ruc. Kroeber puts it at Soledad, but Pinart in the manuscript of the Excelen language states that the woman who dictated the vocabulary to him was a woman of Guaccheron near the present site of Castroville, and that she had learned Excelen from her husband who was of the latter nation. This is confirmed by the facts that the Monterey padres so often confounded it with Kalenda Ruc and that the 1814 *Respuesta* puts it in Monterey territory even at that late date. By the time Soledad was receiving Guaccherones, Ensen territory was so depopulated of its original natives that former dwellers at the Pajaro could easily pass through it. The padres entered Ensen in 1777, and by 1797 had pretty well completed their work; in fact, it was in this year that the Guaccherones first reached Soledad.

Jojopan in literature is always referred to by the Rumsen name, Sargenta Ruc. Modern ethnologists, basing their claim no doubt on the name and the 1814 *Respuesta*, state that the inhabitants were Rumsens. This is not certain. The 1814 *Respuesta* was written by the priest who baptized the remnant of Sargenta Ruc. He notes in baptisms 2665-2672 that the six persons he christened that day

were the *capitan*, his family and two other persons—the last pagans of Sargenta Ruc or El Sur and Ecgeajan. For certain, Excelen was spoken in the latter place. This priest seems not to have been familiar with the native dialects. It was a guide from Rumsen who first showed the place to the padres (baptism 745), and it was natural that he should refer to it in his own language. An Excelen name with a Rumsen equivalent appears in baptism 1474: “Jojopan or Sargenta Ruc.” There is no evidence that the people of any Monterey nation referred to their own *rancherias* as *ruc*, and good reason to believe that groups of the dwellings of foreigners were so designated. Kalenda Ruc was apparently an Achastan name for all the houses near the Salinas. The padres seem to have made but little progress with the Jojopans or their neighbors of Pichis. Five years’ work grossed but sixty-three adult neophytes, yet the padres say it was a populous *rancheria*. It is evident from the sacramental registers that misfit Indians left their nations. Was the place a sanctuary for misfits from all the neighboring nations? Dr. Harrington of the Smithsonian Institute believes that the place was bilingual. This need not mean that both languages were spoken in each village.

193.

Rollin, using medical terms, which as a rule mean little, lists the Indian ailments as (in winter) sore throat, catarrh, pleurisy, lung inflammations; (spring and fall) ephemeral and intermittent fevers (summer) putrid, bilious, petechial, and ardent fevers; also dysentery. Putrid and bilious fevers are now identified with typhus, but what Rollin had in mind is not known. They were, however, something very very serious, for he says that very few natives survived the attacks. Nervous fevers, rheumatism, and epilepsy were also noted, but there is no evidence of rickets. Smallpox and measles came only with the Europeans. The natives were seldom able to live through an attack of the former. Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*, p. 281, and others explain decrease by saying that the new system curbed every native instinct and the entire fashion of their lives. There is, however, no apparent relation between these facts and the Indian death rate.

194.

Most likely in Spanish times and certainly in the earliest American times the Indian grapevine extended up the coast and was very efficient. Colton, *Three Years in California*, pp. 16, 51.

195.

Among the Salinans there was a special and evidently large shack for the unmarried men, and among the San Joaquin Valley Indians a similar building for all the families in the wintertime. Palou-Bolton, o.c., II, Chap. 21; Fages quoted in Mitchell, *King of the Tulares*, p. 4. There is no mention of either at Monterey. *Ruc* was the Rum-

sen word for "house"; the Excelens called it *Iwano*. The pictures in Vancouver seem to show it rather as a circular wall about a yard high with hemisphere starting at that point. Similar dwellings were common to other Californians but the construction was neater. In some places the hut was partly underground. In others, it was larger, etc. See Fages, *A Historical . . . Description of California*; Longinos Martínez, *o.c.*, p. 50; La Pérouse, *Voyage*, III, pp. 295, 302. So far as I know, there is no mention of storage places for seeds and acorns. Still it seems reasonable to suppose that they kept them either in baskets in the *ruc* or in some type of thatched affair outside. Both systems were known in Indian California.

196.

There is not perfect agreement among the various accounts on the sweat house. Humboldt says that there was one behind each hut, and Colton that they were large. The latter implies that they were rather deep into the ground and entered by steps. It is likely that the sweat house he saw was one constructed after ideas which had reached Monterey in mission days. Some say the Indian jumped into the water, others that he dashed it over him; both are likely correct. At the mission *rancheria* the latter process would have been necessary, unless we suppose that the spring and trough which were near the mission *rancheria* served this purpose. Colton seems to suggest that several went in to sweat at one time. It is likely that this habit too came during mission days. The ocean served the coast natives for the post-sweat immersion. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians . . .*, ad verbum; Colton, *o.c.*, p. 61; Humboldt, *Essai Politique . . .*, II, p. 283.

197.

Fages says that the onlookers and players meanwhile sang; La Pérouse, that great silence was observed and that the opponents noticed everything that might aid them to guess correctly. Fages says that the hole in the disk used in *takersia* was the size of a dime.

198.

It seems folly to seek to explain many Indian customs. Theories, however, are interesting. It is possible that marriage, being but a temporary contract, the face scratching served as a public sign of the paternity of possible offspring. Fages testifies that both had the face scratched, *o.c.*, pp. 58, 67. The identity of the father was important to many California Indians since certain taboos were imposed on him when his child was born. Whether such taboos were in vogue at Monterey we do not know.

The information that the Montereyans took as wives all the sisters is evidently exaggerated, both as evidenced by the sacramental records and common sense. Every man had a wife; a very few, two. The sexes were numerically about equal. In mission times neo-

phytes were put in the stocks for infidelity. Both men and women were guilty. La Pérouse says it was common. The very few illegitimate Indian children born of neophyte women at Monterey makes one doubt the frequency, about four in five hundred children, La Pérouse, *o.c.*, III, p. 303. The mothers in baptisms 845 and 1208 may have been prostitutes.

199.

University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, IV, pp. 199 ss.

200.

In neither Excelen nor Rumsen did the Spaniards detect a word they could use for God. In Excelen, however, there are two words which confirm the religious significance of sky people and the sky: *tumas-atchapa*, "evil spirit," "dark-sky-person"; *atsanica* (an oath) probably equals "by the sky."

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